KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND MODERN WORLD

RADHAVALLABHA TRIPATHI



the Book

This volume comprises some of the papers presented in a National Seminar on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, *Arthaśāstra*, the *magnum* opus by Kauṭilya is a work *par excellence* in the fields of Polity, Economy and Diplomacy. It reveals the vision of a great thinker. The papers collected here bring out the insight of Kauṭilya in the matters of governance. They also examine the relevance of his speculations and rulings to our age.

Rs. 300

$. 30

KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND MODERN WORLD

(Proceedings of U.G.C. National Seminar)

Edited by

RADHAVALLABH TRIPATHI



Pratibha Prakashan

Delhi

Published under the authority of
Dr. Hari Singh Gour Vishvavidyalaya, Sagar

First Edition 1997

ISBN 81-85268-64-9

Price : Rs. 300

Published by :
Dr. Radhey Shyam Shukla
M.A., M.Phil, Ph.D.
for **Pratibha Prakashan**
(Oriental Publishers & Booksellers)
29/5 Shakti Nagar
Delhi - 110007
Phone : 7451485

Laser Typeset at :
Impression India Graphics
B-49, J.F.F. Complex,
Jhandewalan, New Delhi - 110055
Phone : 7520255, 7520256

Printed at :
Santosh Offset
Delhi

Dedicated to
Shri Shiv Kumar Shrivastav
Kulpati, Dr. Harisingh Gour University
A Friend, Poet & Philosopher

उद्घाटन सत्र का अध्यक्षीय भाषण

कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र पर विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग की सहायता से इस अखिल भारतीय संगोष्ठी का आयोजन करके हमारे विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग ने एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पहल की है। अर्थशास्त्र संस्कृत वाङ्मय के महान् ग्रंथों में से एक है। इसकी रचना की पृष्ठभूमि में भारतीय मनीषा की कई शताब्दियों का चिंतन और व्यावहारिक समझ विद्यमान है। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि इतने उपयोगी ग्रन्थ के पठन-पाठन की परम्परा हमारे देश में समाप्त-प्राय हो गयी है। काशी के विख्यात पंडित श्री राजेश्वर शास्त्री द्राविड ने इस ग्रन्थ का गहन अनुशीलन किया था। दक्षिण में पं. टी. गणपति शास्त्री की दृष्टि से प्रवर्तक कार्य किया। इन महान् विद्वानों के बाद अर्थशास्त्र के मूल ग्रन्थ को समझने वाले लोग अब इने-गिने ही हैं। वस्तुतः अर्थशास्त्र संस्कृतसाहित्य की एक दुर्लभ और उपेक्षित विद्या बन गयी है। विश्वविद्यालयीन शिक्षा में इसके अध्ययन की ओर ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

डॉ. राधावल्लभ त्रिपाठी ने अपने स्वागत भाषण में इस ग्रन्थ में विभिन्न अनुशासनों के समवेत होने की बात कही है। इस संबंध में मैं अपनी ओर से यह सुझाव देना चाहूंगा कि विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में कौटिल्य के महान् योगदान पर अलग-अलग विषयों के विशेषज्ञों को तो अपने-अपने विषय की दृष्टि से विचार करना ही चाहिये, साथ ही राजनीतिविज्ञान या राजनय, विधिविज्ञान, आधुनिक अर्थशास्त्र, दर्शन, सैनिक-विज्ञान या सामरिक शास्त्र आदि विषयों के विश्वविद्यालयीन विभागों में एक विचारक के रूप में कौटिल्य को पाठ्यक्रम में सम्मिलित किया जाना चाहिये तथा कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र की जटिल और महत्वपूर्ण पारिभाषिक शब्दावली को देखते हुए उन विद्वानों को इस ग्रन्थ के अध्यापन का कार्य सौंपा जाना चाहिये जो मूल संस्कृत में इसका अभ्यास करने के साथ आधुनिक विचार धाराओं से भी सुपरिचित हों।

वस्तुतः कौटिल्य उन विचारकों और शास्त्रकारों में से हैं जिनकी तुलना विधि, राजनय, राजनीति, अर्थशास्त्र आदि विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में विश्व के श्रेष्ठ चिंतकों से एक साथ की जा सकती है। पंडित नेहरू ने अपनी पुस्तक "भारत की खोज" में कौटिल्य की तुलना मेकियावेली से करते हुए लोककल्याण की भावना और चिंतन की गहनता की दृष्टि से कौटिल्य को अधिक महान् माना है। यूरोप के एक दिग्गज संस्कृत पंडित वाल्टर रूबेन ने कौटिल्य और मेकियावेली का तुलनात्मक अनुशीलन विस्तार से किया है। जर्मनी एक दूसरे संस्कृतज्ञ जैकोबी ने बिस्मार्क और कौटिल्य की भी तुलना की है, जिसे कौटिल्य के दार्शनिक, धार्मिक दृष्टिकोण को देखते हुए प्रोफेसर हिलेब्रांट ने अनुचित ठहराया है। वस्तुतः अर्थशास्त्र को उसकी समग्रता में न समझने के कारण कई बार आधुनिक अध्येताओं को उसके संबंध में भ्रांतियां भी हुई हैं। पर यह निर्विवाद है कि यूरोप की राजनीतिक और दार्शनिक चिंतन की परम्परा में प्लेटों के "रिपब्लिक" और अरस्तू के "पॉलिटिक्स" का जितना महत्त्व है, उतना ही महत्त्व हमारी परम्परा में कौटिल्य के इस ग्रन्थ का है।

मुझे आशा है कि इस संगोष्ठी में कौटिल्य को सही संदर्भों में समझने का उपक्रम किया जा सकेगा तथा विभिन्न अनुशासनों के अध्येता परस्पर विचार-विमर्श से इस महान् ग्रन्थ को सबके लिये सुबोध और ग्राह्य बनाने का भी प्रयास करेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस संगोष्ठी की सफलता की कामना करता हूं।

कृष्णकुमार दवे

Preface

The present volume comprises some of the papers presented in the National Seminar on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra under the auspicies of the Department of Sanskrit, -Dr. Harisingh Gour University Sagar. The seminar was largely attended by scholars from different parts of the country and as many as 40 papers were presented. I am extremely sorry that it was not possible to incorporate all the papers which the learned participents had contributed and made available to me. The reason behind presenting selected papers only has been *granthagauravabhaya* in the terminology of our ācāryas – the fear that this volume will become too bulky.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is an encyclopaedic work. It covers the entire range and cycle of human life. Besides being a monumental work on Diplomacy and Public Administration, it also covers various allied disciplines. Above all, it reflects our value-system and cultural ethos. The papers collected in this volume bring out the interdisplinery perspective of *Arthaśāstra*, its whollistic approach as well as its relevance for the world today. I hope that this volume will be useful for the students of various disciplines in Humanities.

Radhavallabh Tripathi

उपोद्घात

कौटिल्य (कौटल्य) का अर्थशास्त्र प्राचीन भारतीय दण्डनीति, न्याय-व्यवस्था, राजधर्म या प्रजापालन पर एक अनूठा शास्त्रीय ग्रंथ ही नहीं, वह भारतीय संस्कृति का एक विश्वकोश है। वह हमारी परम्परा की एक ऐसी कड़ी है, जिसे विस्मृत करना चिंतन और प्रज्ञा की एक संपन्न विरासत से वंचित होना है उसमें हमारी विरासत के अछूते पक्ष निहित हैं। ईसापूर्व की शताब्दियों में भौतिक क्षेत्र में भारत की गौरव पूर्ण उपलब्धियों पर अन्य किसी ग्रंथ से उतना प्रकाश नहीं पड़ता, जितना कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र से। यह ग्रंथ नगरनियोजन, वास्तु कला, शिल्प, धातुविज्ञान आदि विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में जहां भारतीय मनीषा की वैज्ञानिक समझ और प्रयोगशीलता से साक्षात्कार कराता है वहीं लोककल्याण की योजनाओं, करव्यवस्था, प्रशासन, उद्योग आदि की दृष्टि से प्राचीन विचारकों की सुनियोजित परिकल्पना और दृष्टि को सामने रखता है। वस्तुतः चिंतन के क्षेत्र में भी कुछ अज्ञात परंपराओं के सूत्र यही ग्रंथ हमें समझने के लिये देता है। आरम्भ में ही विद्यासमुद्देश के अंतर्गत इसमें आन्वीक्षिकीस्थापना का प्रकरण है। कौटिल्य बताते हैं कि सांख्य, योग तथा लोकायत ये तीन विद्याएं मिल कर आन्वीक्षिकी कहलाती हैं। कौटिल्य की दृष्टि में आन्वीक्षिकी लोकोपकारी विद्या है - सामुदायिक हित को दृष्टि में रखकर चलती है (अ. 2.1)। इसलिये आन्वीक्षिकी के द्वारा कौटिल्य भारतीय चिंतन की उस भूमि का संकेत देते हैं, जिस पर लोक और शास्त्र एक दूसरे से जुड़े रहे। दर्शन और चिंतन की यह एक समानांतर परम्परा थी। इस परम्परा के व्यवस्थापक के रूप में कौटिल्य की प्रथम प्रतिश्रुति मात्स्यन्याय (बलवान् का निर्बल को सताना) को रोकने के प्रति है। दण्डनीति इस वैषम्य को दूर करने में जहां तक सहायक है, वहां तक वह प्रयोज्य है। दण्ड असहाय और दुर्बल की रक्षा करने के लिए है–

"अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति।
बलीयानबलं हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे।
तेन गुप्तः प्रभवतीति।" (अ. 1.4.13-15)

इस दृष्टि से कौटिल्य आन्वीक्षिकी, त्रयी और वार्ता – इन तीनों विद्याओं का मूल दण्ड के सिद्धांत को मानते हैं और दण्ड का मूल विनय (शास्त्रानुशासन) को। विनय भी इंद्रियजय न होने पर राज्य लिप्सा के द्वारा राज्यतंत्र का दुरुपयोग उन्हीं के विनाश का कारण होगा (अ. 1.6.4-10)। अर्थशास्त्रकार की दृष्टि में यह संपूर्ण शास्त्र इंद्रियजय है - "**कृत्स्नं हि शास्त्रमिदमिन्द्रियजयः।**" (अ. 1.6.3)। इसलिये कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र की अवतारणा समग्र भारतीय जीवनदर्शन से संश्लिष्ट होकर की गयी है। अर्थशास्त्रकार व्यावहारिक जीवन में अर्थ को मूल मानते हुए भी त्रिवर्ग (धर्म, अर्थ, काम) के "अन्योन्यानुबन्ध" (एक दूसरे के जुड़े रहने) के सिद्धांत को शास्त्र के प्रारंभ में ही स्पष्ट कर देते हैं।

यद्यपि कौटिल्य के ग्रंथ की बहुत सी बातें आज अप्रासंगिक हो चुकी हैं। पर राजनीति, अर्थनीति के विवेचन को बृहत्तर परिप्रेक्ष्य में स्थापित करने के कारण वह हमारे लिये महत्वपूर्ण है। कौटिल्य की दृष्टि की इस व्यापकता के कारण संस्कृति का कोई पक्ष उनकी विचारपरिधि से अछूता नहीं रहा। और यही कारण है कि सांस्कृतिक उन्मेष की विभिन्न धाराएं भी कौटिल्य के प्रभाव से अछूती नहीं रहीं हैं। संस्कृत के सभी बड़े रचनाकारों पर किसी न किसी रूप में कौटिल्य का प्रभाव मौजूद है और अर्थशास्त्र के अनुशीलन के बिना हम उन्हें भी पूरी तरह नहीं समझ सकते हैं। संस्कृत साहित्य के अध्ययन में कौटिल्य की अनिवार्यता इसी तथ्य से समझी जा सकती है कि कालिदास के रघुवंश की एक प्राचीन टीका "प्रकाशिका" में कवि के आशय को समझाने के लिये लगभग चालीस स्थलों पर कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र से उद्धरण दिये गये हैं। इस संगोष्ठी में प्राप्त कुछ आलेखों में संस्कृत के विभिन्न रचनाकारों पर कौटिल्य का प्रभाव शोध का विषय बनाया गया है। अर्थशास्त्र की संस्कृत-परंपरा में यह व्याप्ति हमें उसकी जटिल पारिभाषिक शब्दावली को समझने के लिये प्रेरित करती हैं। कौटिल्य ने ऐसे सहस्रों शब्दों का उपयोग किया है, जिनमें से प्रत्येक अपने में एक लंबा इतिहास समेटे हुए है और जिनके आशय सामान्यतया संस्कृत के पंडितों और अध्येताओं के समाज में अब अपरिचित हो गये हैं। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि इस महान् आकर ग्रंथ की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली तथा पाठ की समस्याओं पर भी इस संगोष्ठी के लिये हमें अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण लेख प्राप्त हुए तथा अर्थशास्त्र के सांस्कृतिक, दार्शनिक तथा सामाजिक परिप्रेक्ष्य पर भी विशद विवेचन इस संगोष्ठी में किया गया।

वस्तुतः कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र के वृत्त में कई शास्त्र और अनुशासन समाहित हैं। उसे समग्रता में समझने के लिए विभिन्न विषयों के विशेषज्ञों की आवश्यकता है। इस संगोष्ठी में विभिन्न अनुशासनों के अंतरवलंबन की दृष्टि से अर्थशास्त्र

को समझने के लिए हमने उन विद्वज्जनों को भी आमंत्रित किया जो प्राचीन श्रौत और स्मार्त परंपरा में रुचि रखने के साथ वास्तुशास्त्र, पुरातत्व, राजनीति आदि विषयों के विशेषज्ञ भी हैं। विभिन्न अनुशासनो के विशेषज्ञों द्वारा अर्थशास्त्र की यह मीमांसा आधुनिक वैश्विक परिप्रेक्ष्य में हमारे चिन्तन को नई सक्रियता दे सकेगी–ऐसी आशा है।

- राधावल्लभ त्रिपाठी

Contents

1

KAUṬILYA'S TREATMENT OF TECHNICAL WORDS : A NOTE ON *BHŪMICCHIDRA*

Prof. Dr. Ashoke Chatterjee Sastri

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is accepted as the famous compendium of Ancient Indian Political thoughts and activities. Politics in all its branches, internal and foreign, civil, military, commercial, fiscal and judicial aspects of the government are discussed here with minutest care.

It is also true that apart from its political value or administrative utility, there is another aspect of its importance which has seldom attracted the attention of scholars. This is its necessity to a student of semantics. It offers immense scope for its linguistic study. In fact the Arthaśāstra contains innumerable important technical terms which are unique to the students of comparative philology and semantics. It is essential for the researchers to explore this aspect of the Arthaśāstra.

In fact the meaning of each usage-cum-technical term of the Arthaśāstra symbolises the human conception, ideas and angle of views of the period to which it belongs. It is momentous as well as beneficial to study these words in the light of the philology or specially semantics. The derivative meaning of all those words is necessary along with its original imagination and changed meaning in course of time. Incidentally this type of study is helpful as it may unfold certain political, social, cultural and economic aspects of that period.

About two thousand years ago Kauṭilya has used these technical words and it would be a height of folly to deny their later development which is in consonance with the changed spirit of politics, religion and culture of the people. Today many of Kauṭilya's words seldom have the same sense in which these were used by him in his time. In fact all aspects of the change in meaning played an important role. Somewhere the scope of meaning has been enlarged, somewhere encroachment in meaning is palpable, some words have been upgraded and on the other hand some degraded so far the appreciation in meaning is concerned. It is also observed that some words have undergone a radical change. These changes differ in degree. The word *aṣṭādaśa-tīrtha* may be taken as illustration. Generally its accepted meaning now a days is way, holy place, pond, scholar and a descent into river. Thus one tends to translate '*aṣṭādaśatīrtha*' as eighteen holy places etc. But this is far from truth. '*Tīrtha*' according to Kauṭilya is a person who is in charge of an entire department, a superintendent. The eighteen '*tīrthas*' are – superintendent in the goldsmith's office, officer in charge of store house, superintendent of commerce, principal officer of forest produce, person in charge of armoury, superintendent of weights and measures; man in charge of tools; chief of weaving; executive officer of agriculture; superintendent of liquor, officer in charge of slaughter house, chief officer in charge of prostitutes, executive of ships, separate superintendents of cows, horses, elephants, chariots and infantry. Thus there is practically no similarity in meaning between the ancient one (used by Kauṭilya) and its modern prototypes. *Nāgarika, kopa, vyañjanā, kūṭapuruṣa, yogapuruṣa, nāyaka, lekhaka, gananikya, gopa, grāmika, sthānika* and others may be mentioned in this connection. Similarly, there exist such technical words in Kauṭilya as have lost their connotation now a days entirely and have become obsolete for all practical purpose. Even the term Arthaśāstra itself fails to convey the meaning for which it was intended. Here the connotation of this technical word and its ordinary counterpart is not one and the same. The modern interpretation of the English word economics into Arthaśāstra is obviously misleading. In fact the whole word Arthaśāstra has been compounded by two separate words i.e. *artha* and *śāstra*. The word *artha* has been derived from the root *arth* (*arthyate, arthita* etc.) which means to want, to pray , to request or to make efort for having something. Thus the word *artha* generally meant (a) aim, goal, necessity, desire and

(b) money, wealth, property, earthly attraction etc.(in fact it has been regarded as one of the principal end of human life *dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇām* etc.). Hence in this way the purponte of the term *arthaśāstra* is a śāstra or a treatise principaly connected with wealth or property and it cannot be associated with a work on royal administration or political science.

Kauṭilya seems not be inclined to accept this derivative meaning of *artha*. According to him *artha* is a symbol of the land inhabited by the people. He further opines that the Arthaśāstra instructs one how to annex more land or landed property and how to maintain and protect the land ((of.) '*pṛthivyalābhe pālane ca yāvantyarthaśāstrāṇi prastāvitāni*'). Thus accession, protection and administration of land-these are connected with the term *Arthaśāstra*. The western philosophers and philologists also follow the principles of Indian philosophers in this regard. The technical terms are defined by them as words of expression which have special significance and value to a person learned or dextrous in a branch of knowledge relating to some particular aspect of human nature. Whenever the matter is presented before us the action begins like the hands of watch. Where there is not matter, we come to it in the anticlockwise manner from the utterance of a sound or word. The difference lies only in the mode. While in the former the movement of the mental inplication in clockwise-from matter to word, in the latter it is anticlockwise-from word to matter to express it more clearly in one case we arrive at the symbol from the matter.

A convention whereby the expressed meaning of word is settled is accepted in regard to universals, qualities, things and actions. The Indian thinkers try to deal with this question- where is the convention understood? In other words the question is, what does a word like '*ghaṭa*' primarily signify? Do we understand the *saṁketa* with reference to the object jar, or the common property (jarness), or both together. This is a very important question as round it have raged the fierest controversies: (a) *kevalavyaktivādinaḥ*, (b) *jātiviśiṣṭavyaktivādinaḥ*, (c) *apohavādinaḥ*, (d) *kevalajātivādinaḥ* and (e) *jātyādivādinaḥ*. All except the third school belong strictly speaking to the orthodox systems of Indian philosophy. Let us not enter into their realm of dialectical discussions. The third group is the same followed by the Buddhists. They hold that the import of all words is '*apoha*' or '*atadvyāvṛtti*' distinction from all outer different objects. As individuals are innumerable, we cannot understand the *saṁketa* with reference

to this. As all things are '*kṣaṇika*'. a '*jāti*' is impossible. Therefore. what the word '*ghaṭa*' really signifies is that a certain thing possesses peculiarities which distinguish it from all other things. It is not exactly known what '*ghaṭa*' is; we know what it is not: we know that it is not '*paṭa*' or anyting else. ('*saṁghatastu vyaktavanantyadidoṣād bhāvasya ca deśakālānugamābhāvāt tadanugatāyām atad vyāvṛttau saṁketaḥ*' Kaiyaṭa).

It can be found out that Kauṭilya has brought into vogue quite a number of technical words which are either symbolic or indicative. The number of both these terms is pretty high. In the present paper we will discuss the implication and connotation of one of such usages, i.e. "*bhūmichidra*".

The word "*bhūmichidra*" literally means a piece of land which is non-cultivable. It is ą case of *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* according to the grammarian's point of view. It is the land which is subject to be torn asunder, i.e., unfit for cultivation. The *Ṛgveda* says

mā tvā tatpriyā ātmāpiyantam
mā svadhitistanva ā tiṣṭhipatte
mā te gṛdhnuraviśastātihāya
chidra gātrāṇyasinā mithū kah / (*Ṛgveda* 1.162.10)

There Sāyaṇa explains *chidra* as "*tīryakchinna*." This indeed is in accompaniment with the spirit of the view held by Kauṭilya also.

The explanation of the word is also available in the *Mahābhārata*. There is a verse in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* also which is as follows:

nityam dadāti kāmasya chidram tam anu ye'rayah /
yoginaḥ kṛtamaitrasya patyur jayeva puṃścalī //
(*Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.6.4)

Here it refers to infirm, weak or defective. Weak lands stand for the non-arable land.

Kauṭilya the master of the political thinkers has also thought of the proper utilisation of these types of lands. According to him, these are the suitable places for erecting the cowsheds and turning into pasture lands. But in doing so proper attention to provide water for drinking and grass for grazing and fodder should be given. The *Dharmaśāstras* also andorse this. In the case of a *vṛṣotsarga* or *candana-dhenu śrāddha* where a bull or a cow is offered, these are provisions for granting of lands for their protection and maintenance. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*utsṛjya gām vṛṣam caiva bhūmir deyā vihārāya*'.

Secondly about twelve kilometre of such lands should be

allotted for the settlement of the brāhmins who are adopt in not only studying the Vedas with all its auxiliary sciences but also for the performance of the daily *soma* sacrifice (Of. '*somena yajeta*'). This was a common practice with the kings. We know that Devapāla, the doyen of the Pāla Kings of Bengal has granted such land to one Vihekarāta Misra who was conversant with the Vedic lores and was practising his daily sacrifices. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla says- "*acaṭabhāṭapraveśaḥ akiṃcit pragrāhyaḥ rājakulīya samasta-pratyayasametaḥ bhūmicchidranyāyena..... vedārthavido yajvanaḥ pada-vākya pramāṇa-vidyā-pāraṁgatāya vihekarāta-miśrāya śāsanikṛtya pratipāditaḥ*. The king clearly states that the village of Masike, extending upto the preserved lawn and pasture, forming its boundary, aborned with groves and all sorts of covetable things, inclusive of mango, honey, water, land, fish, grass, over-ground right, - village which is free from crimes being endowed with ways for prevention of theft and as such has all hindrances to peace removed from it, to which burglars and night-rovers have no access, which is revenue free has been donated by the king. This donation has been made under the royal seal including the profits accruing to royal estate, and excluding the dues, payable to gods and brahmins granted by the king on previous occasion. the king further adds that it should be enjoyed by them in past and present, for ever (for the period of duration of Moon, Sun and Earth) in order that religious merits may accrue to the donor and his presents according to *bhūmicchidranyāya* to Vihekarāta Misra, of Aupamanyava gotra and Bhaṭṭa pravara, studying Aśvalāyana branch of the Vedas, proficient in Grammar and Logic, son of Śrī Varāharāta, having intellect purified by bearing and grandson of Viśvarāta, sacrificer and well-versed in vedic injunctions.

Thirdly the ascetics or yogins also must not be lost sight of at the time of distribution of land unfit for tilling. they entirely depend on this type of magnificence of the king who in their turn expected spritual protection from them. When the inscriptions of Bengal are examined such evidences are presented before our eyes. We come to know that Mahipāla in the line of the great Pālas has donated a piece of land comprising a village named Kuratapallika to an ascetic entitled Kṛṣṇādityaśarmā. The latter belonged to the Vājasaneyī branch of the Yajurveda and was well acquainted with the different branches of orthodox philosophy. The Bangadh copper plate of Mahipāla records '*paramasaugato mahārājādhirāja-śrīvigrahapāla- deva padanudhyataḥ paramesvaran*

parama-bhaṭṭārakaḥ mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīman Mahīpāladevaḥ kuśalī.

Śrīpuṇḍravardhanabhuktau koṭivarṣaviṣaye gokalikā-maṇḍalāntaḥpāti svsambandhovacchinna- talopeta-catapallikavarjita kuratapallikagrame—— akincidpragrahyāh samastabhogakara- hiraṇyādi- pratyayasametāḥ bhūmicchidranyāyena———yajurveda sabrahmacāriṇe vājapeyaśākhādhyāyine mīmāṁsā vyākaraṇa- tarkavidyāvide hastipadagrame- vinirgatāya cavatigrāmavāstavyāya—— bhaṭṭaputrakṛṣṇādityāśarmaṇe.

The Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva also corroborated it. From it we come to know that Śrīvaidyadeva has meticulously followed the bhūmicchidra distribution rules propounded by Kauṭilya and accepted by the later politico-thinkers like Kāmandaka, Somadevasūri and others. Here the donee is a brahmin named Somanātha. Although his educational qualifications have not been categorically enumerated, we can be pretty sure about his religiousmindedness, austerity and moral equipment. The adjectives like *taponidhi* and *śrautasmārtarahasyaṣu vāgīsaḥ* substantiate it. The following verse from that inscription deserves consideration:-

tīrtheṣu bhramaṇāt śrutādhyayanat dānāt tathādhyāpanād yajñānām karaṇāt vrataikacaraṇāt sarvottarāḥ śrotriyāḥ/
prātar-naktam ayācitopavasanair yena syāyam gugguloa rākarsad varadah kroto'tra hi kalau śrīsomanāthaḥ prabhuḥ//

(*Corpus of Bengal Inscription, p.376*)

This means that one Śrīdhara, an observer of vedic rites, famed for pilgrimage, study of the Vedas, gifts, teachings, parformance of sacrifices and observance of vows pleased the lord Somanātha after drawing him out in Iron Age from *guggula* tree by the observance of '*ayācita*' vow and continuous fasts. The said grant further holds '*dvitīya - paṭākasya caturdaśapaṅktyāḥ.*

santi-paṭakasāṁjñān tu mandaragrāmasaṁyutā/
vaḍāviṣayasambaddham bhūcchidreṇeti niścayāt//

(Verse 29)

Here '*bhūcchidreṇa*' surely stands for *bhūmicchidreṇa.*

The fourth category of the recipients of such '*bhūmicchidra*' land are the dear and other docile animals. From the ancient days such granting of land to the deer was found. The *mṛgadāva* of Sāranātha attracts our attention in this connection. These deer parks should be provided with only one gate of entrance. This is necessary to keep a vigilant eye not only over the animals

concerned but also over the poachers. And for its further protection, it should be encircled with an excavated canal full of water with shrubs and trees of flowers and fruits grown therein.

Kauṭilya knows that the other factor for the welfare of the country besides agriculture and cattle breeding is trade, commerce and industry. It is interesting to see how in India the present governments of different states allure the industrialists by offering their land in their own province to set up new industries there. Kauṭilya perhaps is the champion in this matter. He clearly states that the different *karmānta* or industrial units should be set up in these types of lands and no arable lands should be used for that purpose.

Lastly Kauṭilya is not at all unsympathic to the department of forestry. It is ascertained today that the trees are the faithful friends of the mankind. Kauṭilya furnishes us with an elaborate list of different types of forests and lays much importance on the growth of various type of plantations. He allots this *bhūmicchidra* land to the proper utilisation of different forestries.

Kauṭilya lays a special emphasis on the elephant breeding and allotment of this *bhūmicchidra* land for the elephants. He obviously was sure of the tremendous important role played by these species during war and peace as well.

Thus we must have to admit that the way and manner of the distribution of non-arable land as advocated by Kauṭilya is not only based on scientific outlook but an eye opener to the department of land revenue of different state goverments of modern India.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya stands as a mine of techincal words which we believe may be adopted and freely used for the development of the local languages. It is pleasant to find that a great scholar and hallowed memory once has used *Kośavikraya* in the sense of auction and *udāsīna* to denote the sense of neutral. Actually the term *Kośavikraya* appeared in the newspapers only the other day. The source of these two words must not be lost sight of. We know that these two words are found in Kauṭilya in the same sense i.e. auction and neutrality. This is indeed a bold attempt. Others might have used '*Nīlāmī*' or '*Nīlām*' and '*taṭastha*' or '*nirapekṣa*' in their place. But what is the harm there if we enrich our own mother tongue from the store of our own grandmother?

Apart from these, there are hundreds of technical words available in Kauṭilya and these have been incorporated in different local language and literature without any change in meaning. A

few of these may be quoted.

Daṇḍa, daṇḍanīti, rājā, mantrī, mantripariṣad, mantraṇā, mantraṇāgṛha, amātya, purohita, senāpati, yuvarāja, dūta, sandhi, vigraha, janapada, durga, kośa, mitra, sainyabala, senā, caturaṅgiṇī senā, vyuharacanā, skandhāvara, abhiyāna, yuddha, kūṭayuddha, mantrayuddha, saṁgha, saṁgharājya, gaṇa, gaṇarājya, dvairājya, sāmrājya, paura, samāharttā, sannidhātā, daṇḍapāla, durgapāla, adhyakṣa, paṇya, ayudhagārādhyakṣa, sulkādhyakṣa, surādhyakṣa, navādhyakṣa, aśvādhyakṣa, vidhi, nyāya, gramasaṁgha, vivāha, strīdhana, śapatha, abhiyoga, abhijñāna etc.

In fine we would offer our kudos to Kauṭilya and his Arthaśāstra whose technical words have been utilised and are still being incorporated by hundreds of later writers for channelising their thoughts and for propagation of their views in Sanskrit and Prākṛt as well as in almost all the New Indian Languages like Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi, Oriya, Bengali etc.

2
TERMINOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Dr. D.D. Sharma

Intoroductory

Kauṭilya is one of those luminaries of ancient India of whom the country can be ligitimately proud enough. His Arthaśāstra is a landmark in the field of scientific contributions in Indian literature. Its importance as an outstanding work on the science of polity of public administration has been fully recognized all over the world. But from the point of terminologies, too, it occupies an important place in Indian literature. For, in it the author has not only given us numerous techinical terms relating to various sciences dealt with in this multidimensional monumental work, but also has preserved for the posterity numerous terms which had traditionally come down to him.

But before entering into the discussion of various terminological aspects of the Arthaśāstra, it may not be inappropriate to say a few words about the importance of terminologies in the study of a scientific work, and of Kauṭilya as terminologist.

Importance of Knowledge of Terminologies

There cannot be two opinions on the point that a prime requisite for the proper understanding and exact interpretation of the text of a *Śāstrīya* or scientific work is a thorough acquaintance with its technical terminologies and the semantic implications underlying them. The importance of it is specially increased where the work belongs to a period in distant past and contains new terms which were coined or used by the author for the first

time to convey specific concepts.

It needs no mention that there are a number of technical terms relating to the science of polity or public administration which were for the first time coined or used by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. Besides new terms, he has also used ordinary linguistic terms as technical terms by assigning them specific semantic connotations.

Moreover, a clear understanding of the composition and semantic implications of various technical terms of the *Arthaśāstra* is also important to uderstand the exact shades of meaning of those terms which have been often used by his successors in their works on technical and non-technical literature. During the course of the study of ancient Sanskrit literature one often comes across terms which either had become obsolete or had undergone considerable semantic change since the times of Kauṭilya. We 'notice that even long back the commentators of those works had to fall back upon the *Arthaśāstra* to find exact shades of meanings of these terms. For instance, there are many terms from the *Arthaśāstra* which have been used by the poet Kālidāsa in his compositions, but many of them had already become obscure by the time the celebrated Sanskrit commentator, Mallinātha, wrote his commentaries on them. So to explain the exact connotation of these terms he had to seek assistance from the *Arthaśāstra* itself. A few of them may be illustrated as under:

(1) *adhiṣyanda-vamana*: This term occurs in the *Raghu.*, (xv.29) and the *Kumāra.*, (v.37) in the same sense, viz. 'increase in population' as we find it in the *Artha.* (II.1.1.).[1] There the commentator not only interpretes it in terms of the *Arthaśāstra*, but also, to authenticate his interpretation, quotes Kauṭilya by name.[2]

(2) *niyoga* and *vikalpa*: Both these terms occur in the *Raghu.*. (xvii.49) in the same techinical sense in which they were used by Kauṭilya in the *Artha*,[3] i.e. to denote 'stratagic alternative means" to obtain wealth. Here, too, to explain the contextual technical meanings of these terms Mallinātha had to resort to the explanation of these terms offered by Kauṭilya.[4] Similarly, there are many terms like *prakṛti vairāgya* (*Raghu.*, xii. 55), *parabhisandhāna* (*ibid.*, xvii. 81) etc. For the explanation of which Mallinātha has entirely depended on the *Arthaśāstra*, sometime quoting the text verbatum and sometime peraphrasing it.

Kauṭilya as a Terminologist

From the opening remarks of Kauṭilya, in the Arthaśāstra, it is quite evident that there were earlier works, too, on this subject on which the author of the present *Arthaśāstra* freely drew upon.[5] Besides, we know that there were many codified and uncodified śāstric traditions ever since the Vedic period. In the composition of this multidimensional work Ācharya Kauṭilya must have drawn upon them as well for his terminologies. At present, though it may be difficult to say precisely about the quantum of terms that were drawn from older stocks and that which were coined by him, yet one can safely presume that at least the terms for which he was obliged to offer definitions or explanations were either entirely intoroduced by him or were used by him for the first time with added semantic loads.

From terms bearing the stamp of fresh coinage we can also see that, as a terminologist, Kauṭilya was concious enough of the fact that the terms coined by him should be both compact in form and potent enough to convey the desired sense. For, in the last chapter of his treatise he, explaining the relationship between a term (*pada*) and its meaning (padārtha), clearly states. 'The sense which a world has to convey is its meaning. For example, with regard to the word *mūlahara* whoever squanders the wealth acquired for him by his father and grandfather is a *mūlahara*, i.e a prodigal son.'[6] Looking from this angle of terminologies of the Arthaśāstra we find that there are hundreds of terms coined by Kauṭilya which clearly bear witness to this relationship of the word(term) and its meaning as illustrated by him.

Now, in the following pages we may discuss a few salient features of the terminologies of the *Arthaśāstra*. Regarding citations in this discussions it may be menioned that all Sanskrit citations are based on the text of the *Arthaśāstra* published by M/s. Meharchand Lachman Das, Delhi (V.2027) alongwith Hindi translation by Shri Udayavir Shastri and the English translation, though sparingly, on the Mysore editon of it (7th ed. 1961) by Dr. Shama Shastry.

Technical Terms Defined

The most important contribution of Kauṭilya as a terminologist is offering definitions and explanations, sometimes with illustrations, of various technical terms used by him, particularly with regard to terms which either carried additional semantic load than that what is expressed by its componential elements or terms

which were intended to convey specific meanings, besides their etymological meanings in their specific contexts. Moreover, it is also likely that he may have adopted the technique of offering definitions for older terms as well which he felt were not self sufficient to communicate the meaning or the associated aspect of it by themselves or were likely to be misunderstood by those who are not fully conversant with them. Now, of course, we can say with definiteness that this foresightedness of Kauṭilya has done a great service to the posterity. For, there was every possibility that the intended meanings of these terms would have become obscure for us today, as many of them have become, had he not cared to define them in specific terms. happily, the number of such terms is the maximum in the *Arthaśāstra*. A few of these may be illustrated as follows:

(1) In chapter XI of the Book I under the caption, "The Institution of spies" we notice that at the first instance he enumerates the various technical terms for different kinds of spies such as *kāpaṭika* (fraudulent), *udāsthita* (a recluse), *gṛihapatika* (a house holder), *vaidehaka* (a merchant), *tāpasa* (an ascetic practising austerities), *rasada* (a poisoner) and *bhikṣuṇī* (a mendicant woman)[7]. But realizing that the term itself is not enough to make home the forms and the functions, of the spy concerned for whom the particular term stands, he subsequently offers definitions of each of them, e.g. 'A skilful person capable of guessing the mind of others is a fraudulent disciple' and so on.[8] Similarly, he thinks it necessary to explain the polysemantic term *rasada* which can be interpreted in many ways. According to him, in this context the term *rasada* is to be interpreted as 'Those who have no trace of fillial affection left in them and who are very cruel and indolent.'[9] In Sanskrit one of the meanings of *rasa* is poison as well. The persons with above noted characteristics are capable of administering poison to any one, including their own kith and kin hence they have been termed as *rasadāḥ*. In the absence of the above given explanation this term could be interpreted for a physician as well.

In this very context we come across another poly-semantic term *tīkṣṇa* which in the absence of its definition could be interpreted in any way. Visualising this probability, Kauṭilya to make it specific states, "such brave desperados of the country, who reckless of their own life, confront elephants or tigers in

fight mainly for the purpose of earning money are termed fire brands or fiery spies."[10]

What we have said (above) about the probability of offering explanations for certain terms may be evident from the following:

"In the Adhikaraṇa 2 Chapter 6 we come across a sūtra - *karaṇīyam sidelham śeṣamāyavyayau nīvī ca* : which contains six terms, connected with the functions of the revenue officer. Here the author has left the two terms, viz. *āya* and *vyaya* unexplained because they were quite clear in their meaning, but thinks it necessary to explain the remaining four, e.g. the term *nīvī* according to Kauṭilya stands for "that amount or net balance which remains after deducting all expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenue to be realized or brought forward."[11] (II.6.27). Others too have been defined similarly. it is certain that in the absence of these explanations the intended meanings of the terms like *siddham, śheṣam*, etc. would have become totally obscure to us. This presumption can be supported from the unexplained terms enumerated in connection with the sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyāji parighaḥ klṛptam rūpikamatyayaścāyamukham* II. V.10). In this all but *vyāji* have been left undefined. The terms *mūla, bhāga* and *atyaya* are clear and continued to be used as such in later periods, but in the absence of their definition the terms *parighaḥ, rūpika* etc. have become obscure and are being rendered in different terms by different interpretors (see section obscurity). On the other hand, hundreds of terms like *anyajāta* (II.VI) carrying wide semantic load have remained intelligible to us with their exact connotations due to their definitions, available in the text of the *Arthaśāstra* itself.[12]

Similarly, in I, X, he has made it a point to explain in detail the four terms, viz. *dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kāmopadhā* and *bhayopadhā* prescribed to test the honesty and sincerity of a person to be appointed as minister.

In book II Ch. VIII he has elaborately defined all the eight terms coined in connection with the causes leading to deplete the treasury, e.g. *prayoga* (loan). Earning periodic interest on government money by lending it to a party: *vyavahāra* (trading) carrying on trade by making use of government money etc.[13]

In this context, one can, however, safely presume that many of the terms for which Kauṭilya did not feel the necessity of offering any definition or explanation were quite common in his times. Buţ, unfortunately, with the passage of time many of them went into disuse and as such became obscured to the posterity.

it is here that we can appreciate the importance of giving definitions of technical terms by the terminologist himself. For it is he who can tell us precisely what underlying sense he intends to indicate by a particular technical term.

Aspect of Obscurity

It needs no mention that the *Arthaśāstra* is a multi disciplinary encyclopaedic composition dealing with every aspect of administration, law and order, diplomacy, trade and commerce, etc. As such it is sure that the terminological contribution made by Kauṭilya in the field of social sciences will ever be acknowledged by scholars with a sense of gratitude. There are numerous terms, pertaining to these branches of knowledge which have been used in the Arthaśāstra and have been freely borrowed by ancient Indian writers on these and other subjects and a majority of them have come down to us as well. but what we wish to point out here is this that there are many terms which either in the absence of their explanations offered by Kauṭilya could not hold good in the same sense with the later writers in which they were used by him or became totally obsolete in the absence of their acceptance by the writers who flourished after him. As such in the absence of the knowledge of their underlying concepts, These have been interpreted in different terms by its commentators and translators. This may be illustrated by a few examples given below:

(1) Madanarasa : This term occurs in I. XVIII. 10 (*madanarasa-yogenātisandhāyapraharet*) which has been rendered as 'poison' by Dr. Shama Shastry and as medicines which induce unconcious-ness' by Udayavir Shastri and as' intoxicants by Gairola, and so on.

(2) Yogapāna : This term occurs in I. XVII. 39. (*madyakamam yogapānenodveja yayeyuḥ*). Here too the term in question has been rendered as 'liquor adulterated with norcotics' by Shastry. and as 'disguisting or unpalatable thing' by Udayvir Shastri and Gairola.

(3) *Arṣti* : This term occurs in II. 1.3 "*nadīvanaśailagṛṣtidarī*". Here too the term has been rendered as 'bulbous plant' by Shastry and as 'the jujube tree (beri)' by Udayavir Shastri & Gairola.

(4) *Parigha* : This term occurs in II. VI. in connection with sources of income (*mūlam bhāgo vyajiparigha... āyamukham*) In this the term *parigha*'has been left unexplained by the author, consequently it has been left untranslated (with a

question mark) by Dr. Sastry and has been rendered as 'unclaimed property' by Hindi translators.

(5) Rūpika : It also ocurs in the above passage and has not been explained by the author. Consequently, Dr. Sastry renders it as 'premia on coins' and Shastri and Gairola as 'salt tax.'

(6) *Pradhāvitikā* and *Niṣkuhadvāra* : Both these terms occur in II. III. 19 (*agrahya deśe pradhā vitikām niṣkuhadvāram ca*), and have been left unexplained by the author. Consequently, Dr. Sastry, following the etymological meaning renders them as 'pasage for flight and door for exit,' but both the Hindi translators explining their technical meaning translate them as 'a place of protection from arrows coming from outside (*pradhāvitika*)' and 'the whole made for shooting arrows from inside (*niṣkuhadvāra*).

(7) *Sannidhātā* : It occurs in II.V (*Sannidhātā kośagṛham-bandhanā-gāram ca kārayet*) following its etymological meaning, it has been rendered as 'Chamberlain, one who ever attends upon the king' by Dr. Sastry, but as 'treasurer' by both Shastri and Gairola.

(8) *Ayuktadaṇḍaḥ, pārśva, ḍamaragatakasvam* : All occurring in II.VI.20. In the absence of any definition these terms have been rendered differently by Dr. Sastry and Udayavir Shastri (see. P. 60 and P. 124 respectively). Also see *anugraha* and *Parihra* (II.I. 16).[14]

(9) The term *tīrtha* occurring in I.XII. 22 (*aṣṭadaśatīrtha*)[15] has been rendered as 'government departments' by Dr. Sastry, and as 'government servants' by Udayavir Shastri,

(10) *Śapathavkyānuroga* : This term has been used by Kauṭilya in the technical sense of 'the trial of a criminal on oath,' but the author of the *Yājñavalkya Smriti* useṣ it in the sense of 'an improper oath'. Again the terms '*yukta* and *ayukta* used by Kauṭilya (in the sense of 'a government official' and 'other than the government official' respectively also used by Ashoka in his inscriptions in this very sense) have been used by Yajñavalkya in the sense of 'proper' (*yogya*) and 'improper' (*ayogya*) and his commentator Vijñāneśvara also follows him. There are many more terms belonging to this class of terms which have been differently used or interpreted by later writers.

Obsolescence

Closely related to the aspect of obscurity is the aspect of obsolescence: Many terms ceased to be popular with later writers. became obsolete in due course of time. A few terms belonging to this class are:

(i) *yukta* a government official.

(ii) *ayukta* other than a government official.

(iii) *Upayukta* a subordinate official.

(iv) *tatpuruṣa* a servant.

(v) *parigha* a tax.

(vi) *rūpika* a tax.

(vii) *niveśakālaḥ* time of remarriage.

(viii) *ucchulka* tool tax.,

(ix) *heḍa* displeasure, punishment, as in *heḍaprasada* 'punishment a reward'.

(x) *antevāsi* immediate officer, as in *Samsthānamantevasinaḥ* 'the immediate officers of the institute of espinoage (I. XII) etc.

Specificatory Aspect

Another important aspect of the terminologies of Kauṭilya, which would place him among the first grade terminologists of antiquity, is the coinage of distinctive terms belonging to a particular class or category of them.

It is a well-known fact that specificatory terms, indicative of the specific aspect of an object partially differing in nature, form, quality or quantity from the rest of its class are the indicators of the very advanced stage of the language concerned, and in the *Arthaśāstra* we come across scores of instances in which this aspect of the terminologies is fully vindicated. For instance,

(i) in book 2 chapter 30 seven specific categories of horses according to their sources have been enumerated, such as *paṇyāgārikam* (those that are kept in sale house for sale), *krayopagatam* (recently purchased), *āhavalabdham* (captured in wars), *ājātam* (local breed), *Sāhāyyakāgatam* (received in lieu of help rendered to some one), *paṇasthitam* (mortgaged), *yāvatkālikam* (temporarily kept in the stable).

(ii) Similarly, there are 5 terms for the physical speen- colour of elephants. They have been classified into five groups on the basis of their tamability, and the drills prescribed for them have been categorised as *samāvartana* (turning),

saṃyāna (advancing), *vadhāvadha* (trampling down and killing), *hastiyuddha* (fighting with other elephants), *nagarayanam* (assiling forts and cities).

(iii) In book 2 chapter 11 the author has classified the terms for necklaces on the basis of the number of their strings and the kind, quality and placement of different gems in them, e.g. differentiating the terms *ekāvalī*, *yaṣṭi* and *ratnāvalī*, he states-the only string of pearls is called pure *ekāvalī*, the same with a gem in the centre, is called *yaṣṭi*, the same variegated with gold globules is termed *ratnāvalī*, a string made of pearls and gold globules alternately put is called *aparavartaka*, strings of pearls with a gold wire between two strings is called *sopānaka* etc.[16] Besides the distinctive terms for the superior varieties of gems, he has enumerated 18 varieties of interior gems on the differentiating quality of their hues and shades (II. XI). Similarly, he has coined seven terms for gold on the basis of their origin, colour and quality (II. XIII). It may be interesting to note that different terms for gold, which are wrongly taken as synonyms for gold in general, stand for different varieties of it, according to terms defined by Kauṭilya (II.XIII).

There are a number of contexts in which a covering term has been split into a number of specificatory terms on account of their partial variation from one another. A classical example of this may be cited with reference to taxes to be realized from different sources. In this regard the most commonly attestable terms are (II.XV):

(i) *piṇḍākara* : taxes collected from villages.
(ii) *ṣaḍbhāga* : taxes paid in the form on one-sixth of the produce.
(iii) *senābhakta* : taxes or provision realized from people for the army.
(iv) *bali* : taxes levied for religious purposes.
(v) *kāra* : taxes paid in cash by vassal kings and others.
(vi) *utsaṅga* : taxes specially collected on the birth of a prince
(vii) *pārśva* : marginal revenue.
(viii) *kauṣṭheyaka* : taxes lavied on land below tank, lake etc. made by the state.
(ix) *parihiṇaka* : compensation levied for any damage.
(x) *gulmadeya* : tax payable at military stations.
(xi) *tāradeya* : taxes paid for ferrying.
(xii) *vartanī* : road cess.

(xiii) *ativahika* : conveyance cess.
(xiv) *śhulka* : toll tax.
(xv) *klṛptam* : fixed taxes to be paid by villages on seashores or banks of rivers.

Also note specificatory terms, for envoys with definitions (I.XVI) and for royal writs on the basis of their contents and forms of negotiations (ibid). *Similarly* in II. 25.17 he has specified six kind of wines by assigning different terms to them, differentiated by their ingradients and methods of extraction etc.[17]

Contextually Difinable Terms

Opposed to specificatory terms there are a number of homophonous terms in the *Arthaśāstra* which are to be defined in different terms in different contexts. In these the basic requirement of a technical term, viz. 'one term one concept' and 'uniformity in meaning' of a term, has not been followed strictly. In the study of the *Arthaśāstra* we come across many such terms which in different contexts under go a sea of change in their meanings. For instance, the term *rāṣṭra* in the context of revenue (II. VI.3) indicates 'production from crown land (*sītā*), portion of produce payable to the government (*bhāga*), religious taxes (*bali*), taxes paid in money (*kara*), merchants, the superintendents of rivers; ferries, boats and ships, town pasture grounds, road cess (*vartanī*) ropes (*rajju*) and ropes to bind thieves (*corarajju*) (It may be a kind of tax realized from villages for their protection from theives). But in (II. xv.3) the subjects indicated by this term are: the taxes to be realized from villages (*piṇḍakara*), taxes that are paid in the form of one-sixth of production (*ṣaḍbhāga*), provision paid (by the people) for the army (*senābhakta*), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (*bali*), taxes and subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others (*kara*) taxes that are specially collected on the occasion of the birth of a prince (*utsaṅga*), taxes that are collected when there is some margin left for such collection (*pārśva*) compansetion levied in the shape of grains for any damage done by cattle to crops. (*parihīṇaka*) presentation made to the king (*aupayānika*) and taxes that are levied on lands below tanks, lakes etc. built by the king (*kauṣṭheyaka*) all these come under the head '*Rāṣṭrīya*'. A comparision of these two definitions makes it clear that the items enumerated in them differ in many respects from one another.

Similarly, in II.XV. 3 in the context of *viṣṭi* the term *dāpaka* stands for 'the person who supervises the supply of commodities

to the store-house' and *dāyaka* for 'the person who supplies the commodities', but in II. VIII. 63, in the context of finance these indicate' the person who causes the payment 'and the payer respectively.

In the same way, the term *tīrtha* denotes ' a government department of officials' (*aṣṭādaśatīrtha* I.XII.22), but in I.XIII.2 it denotes the usual sense of 'places of pilgrimage'.

There are a number of terms which , in the absence of their context, either do not indicate any thing or can indicate any object or concept related to their derivative or componential elements, e.g. *agnisamyogah*. The simple meaning of it could be 'to put to fire, to burn, etc. but in the context of arms it stands for 'explosives'. So on and so forth.

Conventionality

There are a good number of terms which do not conform to their etymological sense, i.e. which are incoherent to the meanings obtainable from their components. All these terms seem to have come down to him through convention (*rūdhi*) and were accepted by him in their popular sense. But in such cases he was quite particular to offer their conventional definitions, because his keen eye could foresee that in the absence of this the meanings of these terms would not remain intelligible to people for long because of their deficient etymological constructions. Today we can say with certainty that he was perfectly right in his conjecture. For, we know that in the absence of their definitions a number of terms of the Arthaśāstra have already become obscure to us (see section of obscurity).

The best examples of this type of terms can be seen in book II Chapter III. There are a number of terms in connection with the construction of fort which stand for certain conventional meanings, as opposed to their etymological meanings, e.g. *Indrakosha*: explaining the structure and location of this in the suprastructure of a fort he states: Between the lower and the broad street there shall be constructed *Indrakosha* which is made up of covering pieces of perforated wooden planks affording seats for three archers.' (II.III.16).[18]

devapatha : The context is the same as above (II.III.17). About this it has been stated that there shall be made *devapatha* which shall measure two *hastas* inside (the *Indrakosha*), four times as much by the side and eight *hastas* along the parapet.[19]

Common Linquistic Terms used as Technical Terms

Another notable aspect of the terminologies of Kauṭilya is that he picks up ordinary linguistic terms and ameliorates them to the status of technical terms. but in all such cases care has been taken to see that they are not confused with their lexical meanings. For this he has been particular enough to explain. then and there, the specific meaning intended by them.

Moreover, at one point he himself makes it clear that though the lexical or etymological meaning of a term may have a different connotation, yet it can be used to convey a specific restricted sense in the context of the Arthaśāstra. There citing the example of the term '*Śhāsana*' (command) he says that in the context of this work it will be applicable to the royal writs only (*śāsane śāsanamityācakṣate* II.10.1)

Notable examples of restricting the meaning of a word to its technical sense is attested in various terms enumerated with regard to causes leading to deplete the treasury of the state. These are - *pratibandha, prayoga, vyavahāra, avastāra, parihāpaṇa, upabhoga, parivartana* and *upahāra* (II.8). Basically, all these terms are totally non-technical and can be used as such in any context. But here the author, while employing them as technical terms, makes it a point to explain to the reader the specific semantic significance assigned to them by him. We may reproduce the same as under:

pratibandha : The ordinary dictionary meaning of this term is 'obstruction', but explaining the form and scope of obstruction as intended by it as a technical term of the Arthaśāstra he states-failure to start an undertaking, or to realize its results,or to credit its profits (to the treasury) is known as *pratibandha*.

prayoga : The normal lexical meaning of this term is 'use. application, employment'. but in this context it has been used in the sense of 'utilization. investment etc.' According to its definition given here. it stands for 'lending or investing money of the treasury (for one's private gains)'.

vyavahāra : Lexically. this polysemantic term denotes. besides 'conduct or action.' the sense of 'a transaction. commerce, dealing in money etc.' 'but here this term has been given the sense of 'trading' e.g. making use of the government money for private trading.

All the other terms enumerated above have been similarly explained of their semantic implication as technical terms in this context.[20]

Similarly, in Book II Ch. 6 in the context of the duties of the collector-general (*Samāhartā*) he states that the collector general shall attend to collection of revenue from *durga, rāṣtra khani setu, vana vraja* and *vaṇikpatha*. Here too, most of the above noted terms have their limited conventional meanings, but the meanings intended by the author of the Arthaśāstra are widely different from their conventional or lexical meanings. But as usual, in this case too, in order to avoid confusion, he has explained the specific meanings of each of the terms assigned to it in the context concerned (II.6.1-8).

Besides, we may also refer to terms like *nāyaka* (a constable), *paura* (officer-in-charge of the city), *gopa* (officer-in-charge of a group of villages), *nāgaraka* (city superintendent) etc.

References

1. (क) या सौराज्य् प्रकाशाभिर्वभौ पौर-विभूतिभिः।
   स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता।। (रघु. 15-29)
   (ख) अलकामतिवाह्येव वसतिं वसुसम्पदाम्।
   स्वर्गाभियिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशितम्।। (कुमार. 6.37)
   टीका - स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दो अतिरिक्तजनः तस्य वमनमाहरणं कृत्वा।
2. अत्र कौटिल्यः - भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वंवाटजनपदं परदेशप्रवाहेण स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् (अधि 2. अ. 1)
3. रात्रिं दिवं विभागेषु यथादिष्टंमहीक्षिताम्।
   तत् सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः।। (रघु. 17-49)
4. गुरुताधवयोगाच्चापदां नियोगविकल्पसमुच्चयाः भवन्ति।
   "अनेनैवोपायेन नान्येन" नियोगः।
   "अनेन वान्येन वा" विकल्पः (अर्थ 9.7)
5. पृथिव्यालाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः
   प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् (अर्थ. 1.1.1)
6. पदावधिकः पदार्थः मूलहरः इतिपदम्। "यः पितृपैतामहमर्थमन्यायेन भक्षयति स मूलहरः" इत्यर्थः। (अधि. 2 अ. 9)
7. कापटिकौदास्थितगृहपतिवैदेकहकतापसव्यंजनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च (अर्थ. अधि. 1 अ. 11)
8. परमर्मज्ञः प्रगल्भः छात्रः कापटिकः। प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवसितः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तः उदास्थितः। कर्षको वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो गृहपतिकव्यंजनः। वाणिजकोवृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो वैदेहक व्यंजनः आदि आदि। (अर्थ. अधि. 1 अ. 11)
9. ये बन्धुषु निःस्नेहाः क्रूराश्चालताश्च ते रसदाः। इति (वही)
10. ये जानपदे शूरास्त्यक्तात्मानो हस्तिनं व्यालं वा द्रव्यहेतोः प्रतियोधेयुस्ते तीक्ष्णाः। (वही)
11. व्ययसंजातादायव्ययविशुद्धा जीवी। (अधि. 2 अ. 6.27)
12. नष्टप्रस्मृतायुक्तदण्डः पार्श्व पारिहीणिकमौपायनिकं डमरगतकस्वमपुत्रकं निधिश्चान्यजातः। (2.6.20)

13. कोशद्रव्याणां वृद्धिप्रयोगाः प्रयोगः। पण्यव्यवहारो व्यवहारः।
14. सिद्धं कालमप्राप्तं करोत्वप्राप्तं वेत्यवस्तारः। क्लृप्तमायं परिहायति व्ययं वा विवर्धयतीती परिहापणम्, स्वयमन्यैर्वा राजंद्रव्याणामुपभोजनमुपभोगः राजद्रव्याणामन्यद्रव्येणादानं परिवर्तनम्। इत्यादि
15. अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चेभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरौदद्यात्। (2.1.16)
16. एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरान्।
उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि।। (1.12.22)
17. सूत्रमेकावली शुद्धा। सैव मणिमध्या यष्टिः। हेममणिचित्रा रत्नावली हेममणिमुक्तान्तरो अपवर्तकः। सुवर्णसूत्रान्तरं सोपानकम्। मणिमध्यं वा मणिसोपानकम्।
18. मेदकप्रसन्नासवारिष्टमैरेयमधूनामुदकद्रोणंतण्डुलानामर्धाढकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किण्वस्येति मेदकप्रयोगः। (इत्यादि)
19. अट्टालकप्रतोलमध्ये त्रिधानुष्काधिष्ठानं सपिधानच्छिद्रफलकसंहितमितीन्द्रकोशं कारयेत्।
20. अन्तरेषु द्विहस्तविष्कम्भं पार्श्वे चतुर्गुणायामनुप्राकारमष्टहस्तायतं देवपथं कारयेत्।
21. द्रष्टव्य पाद टिप्पणी 13 ऊपर।

3

TEXTUAL READINGS IN KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

K.P. Jog

The discovery of manuscripts of two important Sanskrit works marked a great advance in the field of Sanskrit studies. These two works were (i) the so-called *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-Cakra* and (ii) the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Both these works reveal (almost) the earliest form of classical Sanskrit, be it in prose and/or verse. Again, while the first work revealed a variety of dramatic form and thus revealed the glorious beginning of artistic pursuit of ancient Indian writers, the second revealed a vigorous form of scientific writing and thought which pertained to actualities in life and pointed to a master-mind that dominated (or, it might not be exaggeration to assert, has continued to dominate) India's political life. Be this so, the interest of the latter work for a student of Sanskrit language lies in its linguistic peculiarities as also in its vocabulary which have an incomparable richness. This richness (let me at once observe) consists in the numerous technical terms and the rare words that became unintelligible even to the few scribes who were aware of the importance of the work and cared to copy the same from possibly some scanty material available to them. It is fortunate therefore that these scribes have preserved for us this early important work together with some commentaries whose writers attempted to throw light on most of the obscure or forgotten technical terms of a 'vanished epoch'.[1]

At this point, it is necessary just to refer to the stupendous efforts which modern scholars have made to ascertain the period when the *Arthaśāstra* was written as also to *Kangle's* cautious, careful and therefore reliable suggestion in that behalf, viz. the work could have been written in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Also, let us recall the massive critical studies of the moderns who dealt with various aspects of this work and attempted to edit, translate and interpret it satisfactorily.

However, despite the commentarial literature and the valuable work of the editors and/or translators of the *Arthaśāstra*, there have remained quite a few difficulties in understanding some words or sentences from the text which reveal themselves in the numerous textual readings noted by the editors and translators. Again, these variant readings, let me add, involve, on certain occasions, problems of textual criticism and interpretation. Therefore, I propose to discuss here only two of them (this for want of time) and thereby seek to clarify my remark. In the course of my discussion, I shall quote the text and the variants from *Kangle's* edn. I should add that I have not been able to verify only these variants which are from the commentaries *Jayamaṅgalā* and *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna*.

To turn the variants, I begin with one that pertains to the meaning of a word.

Artha. 2.3.14 reads:

दण्डन्तय द्विदण्डत्तरा वा चर्या कारयेत्, अग्राहये देशे प्रधाकनिकां निष्किरद्वारं च।

The word निष्किरद्वारम् is read in one Grantha ms. as निष्कुर and in another as निष्करू in two Malyalam mss. as निष्कुर and in one Malyalam ms. as निष्करद्वारं in the Malyalam commentary *Bhāṣāyākhyāna* as निष्कुर।

It is easily understandable that the variants निष्कुर: and निष्कुरु: seem to point to some one example of early days and to the scribes' confounding the text for want of a clear understanding of the *Artha.* text. Also, it is clear that these variants do not make any sense!

One of the two other variant readings, viz. निष्कुरू has to be given some thought first since it is recorded by lexicons as an equivalent of निष्कुट meaning 'hollow in a tree' and it is explained by T. Ganapati Shastri who seems to follow the commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* as:

निष्कुहद्वारं च कोटरविवरं च प्राकारबहिर्वर्तिप्रतिपक्षचेष्टितगूढदर्शनार्थम्।

That is to say, the king should establish outside the rampart of the fortress an observation-post in the hollow of a trees. However, this meaning does not seem to be likely as seen from *Artha.* 13.4.12 where also the word निष्किर occurs but without the variant निष्किर। And significantly enough, *Ganapati Shastri* himself does not read this word there. Nor does he record this word in the list of important words in the *Artha.* which he has given in Appendix II of his edn. of the *Artha.*

Already *Meyer* has emended the variant readings in *Artha.* 2.3.12 and also those in *Artha.* 13.4.12 to निष्किर and *Kangle* has adopted this emendation. But, while he did so, he could derive help from Yogghāma's commentary *Nīyomotṇīti* which has fortuitously lent support to *Meyer's* conjecture of a proper reading. I should quote here Yogghāma with a little prolixity in order that the full significance of the reading निष्किर is well understood. Yogghāma writes:

(a) गोमूत्रिकाकारा पुरुषप्रमाणमुण्डप्राकारेण अग्राह्ये परेषां निष्किरद्वारैर्निगत्य। परिवारक्षार्यं प्रधावन्ति बोधा अस्याम्; इद्ध देवपथस्य अधस्तात् प्राकारूकक्षिप्रदेशेषु निष्किरद्वारम् निष्कीर्येन्ते ब्रहिः परिवारक्षार्थं योधा येन तदारोहणावतरणार्थं कृतं तिर्यक्प्राकारबाह्यभित्तिषु स्वल्पतरसोपानं कालायसदृढकपाटम् - जातावेकवचनम्। वक्ष्यति च दुर्गलम्भोपाये निष्किरादुपनिष्कृत्य् दुर्गस्थान् घातयेदिति।

(a) explains the notion of प्रघावनिका। It is 'a run-way protected by small zig-zag wall of the height of a man, expanding from the *prākāra* to the big moat, intended as a cover for the fighters'. (b) explains the notion and therefore the use of प्रनिष्किरमार which is 'a small exit-door made of iron at the end of a stair-case leading down from the *devapatha* in the outer wall of the rampart; through this door soldiers come out into the *pradhāvanikā* for the protection of the moat'.

The (c) part of Yogghāma's comment has a certain significance to which I shall turn a bit later after I invite attention to *Artha.* 13.4.12 and *Ganapati Shastri's* comment on this word in it. The passage runs thus: निष्किरादुपनिष्कृष्याश्रचप्रहरेयुः and all the Grantha and Malayalam mss. read निष्करोत् whereas the Telugu transcript (following it the Punjab edn. also) reads निष्कुरात्। It may be said that the ms. tradition, with the exception of the ms. used by

Ganapati Shastri, is consistent in recording an ununderstood and ununderstandable reading. The ms. used by *Ganapati Shastri* agrees with other Malayalam mss. here and offers an explanation of the word to which it is now necessary to turn. *Ganapati Shastri* states: two alternatives thus:

निन्दितकरणात् कपाटादित्यर्थः। अथवा करः शुण्द्रा निरायतः करः यस्य स निष्करः प्रसारितकरः अर्थात् करिणं तथाभवं विधावेति-ल्यब्लोपे पञ्चमी। दुष्करादिति पाठेऽपि कपटादित्यर्थः। निष्कुरादित्युकारमध्यस्तु मृग्यार्यः पाठः।

Thus, he would understand the passage as either 'by means of a trick' or 'by making an elephant put forth its trunk'. As to this latter explanation, one can entirely agree with *Kangle* who observes that it is 'quite fanciful'. *Kangle* has merely noted the first explanation and made no observation on it; however, his translation of the passage: "Dragging out (soldiers) from the run-way exit, they should strike with horses" and his reference to *Meyer's* emendation (in the text) and his remark: "*niṣkarad* is read as in 2.3.14" very clearly indicates his disapproval of *Ganapati Shastri's* first explanation.

It is at this juncture that I should invite attention to the (c) part of Yogghāma's comment which is noted earlier. Yogghāma is seen to be quoting a later passage which points to *Artha*. 13.4.12 thus: निष्किरादुपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् (इति)।

Now *Kangle's* translation and also his note on it point to even his ignoring Yogghāma's reading of the passage. This involves problem of textual criticism. The passage, as read by *Kangle*, already ignores a variant दुष्करात् which is recorded by *Ganapati Shastri* and offers some difficulty of interpretation: one cannot satisfactorily understand दुष्करादूपनिष्कृत्य even if one were to paraphrase it as कपटाद् उपनिष्कृण्य। Then *Kangle's* note on the passage अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः "the *ca* and the plural of the verb seem due to repetition from 13.2.20." also shows that he pays no heed to Yogghāma's words: उपनिष्कृत्यदुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् इति, where इति which marks the completion of the sūtra. Unfortunately, there is no way to know if Yogghāma ever read the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः which seem to have been read by entire ms. tradition. I, for one, feel that he might not have read them. I think that Yogghāma's reading निष्करादपनिष्कृत्य in the place of (what might be called) the subsequently accepted निष्किरादुपनिष्कृत्य points to the early or ancient age for the *Artha*. In that early age, there did prevail in

Sanskrit writing the tendency of yet earlier (possibly even late Vedic) period to play on words as पद गायन्ति त्वा गायत्रिणोऽर्चन्त्य-कमर्किणः (RV. I.10.1) अवोचाम्.....वचः (ṚV 1.78.5) etc. It is very much likely therefore that the *Artha*. used a noun and an absolutive from just one root *kṛ* with *niṣ* and not from two different roots *kṛ* and *kṛṣ* with the (same) prefix *niṣ*.

I should point out here that the word निष्किर can be derived from the root *kṛ* with *niṣ* in accordance with Pāṇini's Sūtra: 3.1.135: इगुपधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः and one might draw support from some grammatical tradition noted in *Tattvabodhinī* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* 2897 on this Sūtra:
इस सूत्रे उपसर्ग इति केचिदनुवर्तयन्ति (Though तद् बहू नामसंमतम्!)

Incidentally I should mention, though not useful for understanding the passage from *Artha*., the earlier positing of a word निष्किर which gave rise to another word निष्किरीय which occurs at *Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa* 12.5.14 in the sense of 'one belonging to a Brahmanical school of the name निष्किर; the commentator Sāyaṇa records that निष्किर is the name of a tree!

It is better then to understand निष्किर in the sense of 'one who scatters, i.e. a scatterer' and then निष्किरद्वार of *Artha*. 2.3.14, abbreviated as निष्किर at *Artha*. 13.4.12, can be taken as a (postern-) door for scatterers, i.e. the soldiers who would scatter away on purpose (as shown by Yogghāma's commentary in निष्कीर्यन्ते which should be निष्किरन्ति!). This should serve a useful purpose at *Artha*. 13.4.12 in the way Yogghāma has read it. I would like to put one in the mind of the context of *Artha*. Sūtras 13.4.9 ff. which speak of the activity of a conquering king who lays a siege around an enemy's fort, particularly concentred on its rampart. Sūtra 11 in this context reads बहुलारक्षयन्त्रैर्घायेत् he should destroy with machines what is guarded by many sentries. Then follows the Sūtra as read by Yogghāma निष्किरादुपनिष्कृत्य दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् 'he should destroy those who are in the fort, having dragged (them) out near (unto his own men) from the run-way for the scattering (or escaping) men (of the enemy)'.

It may be pointed out that there does not really result any difference even if उपनिष्कृत्य is replaced by उपपिष्कृत्य all that can be said is that the latter reading seems to be a kind of simplification by the scribes of the earlier (possibly ununderstandable?) reading.

Further, I feel that the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः which, as *Kangle* has pointed out, can be a repetition from *Artha.* 13.2.20 whose preceding Sūtra ends with the word घातयेत्। It may be conjectured. I wonder if that is really fruitful, that, as in *Artha.* 13.2.20, the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः follow the verb हन्यु (related to घातयेत्), in *Artha.* 13.4.12 also the words अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः might have followed the words दुर्गस्थान् घातयेत् as read by Yogghāma. This should be some explanation of the occurrence of अश्वैश्च प्रहरेयुः in all the mss. I still cannot but feel the need of these words in *Artha.* 13.2.20 which express the need of presenting a scene of the enemy king's death in the horses' stampede after having effected his murder; in *Artha.* 13.4.12, there is no such purpose at all!

Earlier, I have mentioned the temporal nearness of the *Artha.* and the Vedic literature. I should adduce here one more instance to substantiate my position. Again, this instance involves a bit of difficult reading in the text, both in respect of Sūtra-style and of an obscure (or fallen-in-disuse) meaning. For my purpose, I have to quote the *Artha.* passage at some suitable length. It occurs as Sūtras 13.4.2-5

जनपदं यथानिविष्टमभय स्थापयेत् (2) उत्थितमनुग्रहपरिहाराभ्यां निवेशयेत् अन्यत्रापसरतः (3) संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमौ निवेशयेत्, एकस्यां वा वासयेत् (4) न ह्यजनो जनपदो राज्यमजनपदं वा भवतीति कौटिल्यः (5)

These occur in the section of the *Artha.* about a king's work of laying siege to a fort (of an enemy). The word in संग्रामात् Sūtra 4 is an emendation, suggested by *Meyer* and accepted by *Kangle*, for संग्रामम् in the ms. tradition with the sole exception of the ms. used by *Ganapati Śāstri*, reading सम्भ्रम् instead. Most of the editors of the *Artha.* are unanimous in construing the sentences of the Sūtras in the way *Kangle* has done, but the translators do not agree in doing so. Thus *Meyer* construes अन्यत्रापसरतः संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमौ निवेशयेत् and translates thus: 'those who have run away from other places should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle.'; but there is, as *Kangle* rightly points out, a need for changing अन्यत्र to अन्यतः। There is no support for this emendation in ms. tradition and, further, the translations of both *Shamā Śāṣtri* (though not convincing!) and *Kangle* (nearer to the author's intention) rule out any scope for it. Now *Shamā Śāstri* translates Sūtras 3-5 as: "When it is in rebellion, it is to be pacified by bestowing rewards and remitting taxes, unless the

conquerer means to quit it. Or he may select his battle fields in a remote part of the enemy's territory, far from the populous centres." *Shamā Śastri's* translation seems to miss the author's intention in more ways than one. In the first instance, उत्थितम् in Sūtra 3, does not really refer to a people in rebellion against a conqueror but it refers to people who resided in what was earlier the enemy's territory and who had then risen against this conqueror. Thus people now, after the conquest of the conqueror, are to be pacified. Secondly, there is not sufficient reason to indicate the conqueror's intention to leave the conquered country, as understood by *Shamā Śastri*, for that goes against the style of the *Artha.* in respect of the use of अन्यत्र for prescribing an exception to an earlier prescription. The import of the stylistic use of अन्यत्र is well brought out by *Kangle* who translates Sūtras 3 and 4 thus: "He should induce those, who have risen, to settle down through favours and exemptions, excepting those who go away. He should settle them on land away from the battle field or make them stay in one region." I shall speak about this translation a little later after I make an observation on *Shamasastri's* translation of Sūtra 4 which conveys the *Artha.* prescription for conqueror for selecting his battle fields in the enemy's territory. But this is entirely far from what could be intended since Sūtras 3 and 5 would be separated by Sūtra 4 of some parenthetic character. But this is not all. The connection between संग्रामम् (as read by him) and the root *viś* with *ni* (casual) as understood by *Shamasastri* is completely unlikely and also the words एकस्या वा निवेशयत् do not appear to be properly understood. Where is there in these words any reference to populous centres?

Now, let us turn to *Kangle's* translation and annotation to it. It seems that he is not *wholly* sure of the way he has construed the Sūtras, for he writes in his note: "It is possible to construe *anyatra apasaratah* with the sentence ----- संग्रामादन्यस्यां भूमौ----- i.e. those who move away from their lands should be settled in a place where there is going to be no battle." *Kangle* observes that "the idea of the sentence संग्रामाद्---- seems to be that the people who are to be settled should be settled where there is going to be no battle." I feel *Kangle* experienced discomfort in not accepting the ms. reading संग्रामम् and in rejecting *Meyer's* emendation. He is certainly right in discarding *Ganapati Shastri's* reading समग्रम् and his paraphrase of it अधिकम् in the sense of

'those over the above (the number engaged in agriculture, *utthita*). Indeed this paraphrase is, as *Kangle* observes, highly problematical.

Let me now express my disagreement with both *Meyer* and *Kangle* who have proposed the emendation of संग्रामम् to संग्रामाद् because, as I said earlier, *Artha.* seems to have retained here a certain feature of early Vedic style in respect of economy of expression and also the meaning of the word. The feature to which I would draw attention was well brought out by *Velankar* about some twenty years back. He named it as Principle of Word-Economy (*śabda-lāghava*). It consisted in dropping some obviously needed and easily understood word (or phrase) when it had to be repeated for conveying a complete meaning and, in doing so, there was used what was apparently some other difficult word (or phrase). I cite here one example from *Velankar's* comment in this regard. It is on Ṛgveda 3.6.5 (last quarter) त्वं नेता वृषभ चर्षकीनाम्(he observes '*vṛṣabha*, the voc., stands also for the (accented) nominative form, which is then to be construed with the genitive. For this, he draws attention to Ṛgveda 6.1.8 where वृषभ चर्षणीनाम् occurs. I should clarify my point by rewarding the relevant part of the Sūtras thus: अन्यत्र अपसरतः संग्रामात् संग्रामम् अन्यस्यां निवेशयेत्------ and translating the same as: 'excepting the host (of people) that is going away. (Or rather,) he should settle that (every such) host of people (scattering it) in different places or in some one place (fixed by him)'. It is necessary to point out here how I understand the word संग्राम. I take it in the sense of 'a host or assemblage or gathering (or people)'. This is a sense of the word in *Atharvaveda* hymns, at two places, viz. 4.24.7: यः संग्रामत् नयति सं युधे वशी (and this is alternatively, read in TS 4.7.15.2 '15.2 'Mai. S.3.16.5 as ------- यः संग्रामं नयतिसं वशी युधे and 12.1.56 (in the well-known भूमिसूक्त) ये ग्रामा यदरण्यं या सभ अधि भूम्याम्। ये संग्रामा समितयस्तेषु चारु वदेन ते॥ It is this sense that is retained in *Artha.* since, it is needless to point out (i) the *Atharvaveda* presents a very late phase of Vedic language that was not very far removed from the period of the composition of the *Artha.*, and (ii) it (i.e. the *Atharvaveda*) deals with such topics as are properly the topics of the *Artha.* - particularly those pertaining to a king, his territory etc.

My proposed translation indicates to hosts of people who might be going away (from their earlier territory), for I believe

it is necessary to understand संग्रामम् as जातावेकवचनम् 'expressive of numerous hosts or gatherings of people. This is warranted by the use of the plural form अन्येषु। One might easily recall here a line from Kālidāsa (even of later to time)

यक्षश्चक्रे जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु

Let me not forget to mention *Ganapati Shastri's* commentary on his reading समग्रम् viz.

अधिकम् अन्यस्यां भिन्नभिन्नायां भूमौ ...... एकस्यां वा कारयेत्

which hints at this thought and which, I feel, might show that possibly *Kangle's* construe of समग्रम् with सूत्थतम् in the sense of उत्थितादधिकम् is not likely to bring out the intention of the commentator.

Incidentally, I must not fail to observe one more significant point in respect of *Ganapati Shastri's* comment अधिकम् ...... वासयेत् (which I have just quoted). *Ganapati Shastri* has further added एकस्यां वेत्यपिरपाठः and that indicates the omission of वासयेत्। Such an omission, one might argue, could not be impossible in as much as the *Artha.* adopts a cryptic style and therefore easily expected the reader to understand the repetition of निवेशयेत् which has occurred in the preceding alternative. One need not go far to seek for an example of this: one notices it in *Artha.* 13.3.45: वेषां गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनाः काष्ठतृणधान्यपण्यशकटैः प्रहरणावरणान्यभिहरेषुः, देवध्वजप्रतिमाभिर्वा।

Let me not be taken to be seeing too much of Vedic peculiarities in this passage of the *Artha.* if I observe that this possible dropping of वासयेत् is similar to what one notices in a number of Vedic passages which use a verb just once, i.e. in one part of them and intend its repetition in another part (if not in more parts). I should adduce just one example of a verse in the Ṛgveda. Ṛegveda 3.26.4 reads: प्रयन्तु वाजास्ताविषीभिग्नयः which is to be understood with repetition of प्रयन्तु of as प्रयन्तु वाजा (प्रयन्तु) वविषीनिरग्नयः।

I should like to argue, therefore, that some earlier reading(s) noted in the commentary(ies) could be given a little more attention.

So far, I have tried to underline the linguistic similarities between the *Artha.* and the earlier Vedic literature. In doing this,

I have derived help from commentaries which helped clarification of obscure words and passages. *en passant* how yet further readings noticeable in the commentaries keep on demanding attention of scholars. However, there still remain a number of passages from the *Artha*. where the meanings of words and the ideas of its author are obscure. I merely indicate a difficulty in understanding the phrase चतुः शालमध्यर्धान्तरं साणिकं (कुमारीपुरम्) at *Artha*. 2.3.32 with its variant चतुःशालमध्यधन्तिराणी (णिकम्)-------

Here one has to decide (i) if and how अध्यधन्तिरम् can be understood as an adjective of चतुःशालम्, (ii) the meaning of आणि or अणि (in साणिक also), and (iii) the proper structure intended.

4
COMMENTARIES ON ARTHAŚĀSTRA : THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO ITS STUDIES

Dr. N.P. Unni

There are several important commentaries on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. At present we have information about seven commentaries, six of them being in Sanskrit and one in a regional language, Malayalam. Almost all of them except the recent one belong to the 12th century A.D. and as such it is not easy to fix the priority of these commentaries. The most recent commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri is the only complete commentary and it is composed in Sanskrit making use of some earlier glosses. From the point of view of Kauṭilya studies, this latest commentary is most significant especially so, since it has been built upon the reliable foundation of the traditional commentaries. Modern commentaries in Hindi and other languages do not occupy a similar position and hence they need not be seriously taken notice of.

Pratipadapañcikā

Shama Shastri who edited the Arthaśāstra for the first time in 1909 has noticed this commentary in his edition. The commentary called Pratipadapañcikā of Bhaṭṭasvāmī as available to him was incomplete and it extends from the 8th Adhyāya of the II Adhikaraṇa upto the end of the section. This section called Adhyakṣapracāra consists of 22nd to 57th Adhyāya of the text. In other words, the section contains 36 Adhyāyas.

Bhaṭṭasvāmi's commentary is available for the last 29 chapters of this section. The commentary was found in a palm leaf manuscript written in the Grantha script. The available portion of the commentary has been edited by K.P. Jayaswal and A. Banerjee Shastri through the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna during 1925-26.

The commentary is brief and to the point. Nothing definite is known about its author Bhaṭṭasvāmī who in the course of the commentary attributes Dhātukauṭalīya, a work on minerals to the authorship of Kauṭilya. Later commentators seem to have utilised this work extensively.

Nayacandrikā

Madhavayajvamiśra has composed a commentary called Nayacandrikā. It has been published by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt in the Punjab Sanskrit Series in 1923-24 in two volumes. They were assisted by Udayavīra Śāstri also. Once again the commentary is incomplete and is available only for 37 Adhyāyas from 103 to 139 of a total of 150 Adhyāyas of the text. In other words, it covers practically six Adhikaraṇas of a total of fifteen. It extends only from the 7th Adhyāya of the 7th Adhikaraṇa upto the 4th Adhyāya of the 12th Adhikaraṇa. The name of the author is supplied in the colophon of the only manuscript. We know nothing about the author except that he has also composed a commentary on the Prākṛt Mahākāvya *Setubandha*. The date of the commentary could not be fixed.

Jayamaṅgalā

This is a commentary not mentioned by the editors of the text. It extends only upto the end of the first Adhikaraṇa. In other words, the commentary is available only for the first 21 Adhyāyas of the text consisting of a total of 150 Adhyāyas. The authorship of the commentary is ascribed to Śaṅkarācrya who has also commented on the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka. The work has been edited by G. Harihara Śāstri with an introduction from the Kuppuswamy Śāstri Research Institute, Madras, in 1958.

There is some confusion regarding the authorship of the Jayamaṅgalā commentary since it is copied in the same manuscript along with the Cāṇakyaṭīkā. But many references to Jayamaṅgalā can be seen in Kerala commentaries.

Cāṇakyaṭīkā

A writer called Bhikṣuprabhamati about whom very little is known has composed a gloss entitled Cāṇakyaṭīkā on Arthaśāstra. The name of the commentator occurs in a colophon to the only manuscript of the work. It is edited by G. Harihar Śāstri in the Journal of Oriental Research Madras, in 1956-57. The commentary concerns only with the second Adhikaraṇa and ends with the first Adhyāya of the third Adhikaraṇa. In other words, it is available only for 37 Adhyāyas from 22nd to 58th of the Arthaśāstra.

It is significant to note that the manuscripts of these four commentaries were procured from Kerala and it is believed that their authors might have flourished in that country.

Nītinirṇīti

A Jain scholar Acarya Yogghama alias Mughdhavilāsa has composed a commentary which is available only partially. It extends from the first Adhikaraṇa to the beginning of the second. The colophon gives the name of the commentary as Nītinirṇīti and the text is mentioned as Kauṭalīya rājasiddhānta. The available portion is edited by Muni Jinavijaya in Sindhi Sanskrit Series in 1959 from Bombay. The commentary seems to be a very detailed one. D.D. Kosambi who contributed an introduction believes that the original Arthaśāstra must be at least 25 percent bigger than the present text. He bases his conclusion on the extensive commentary.

Thus in Sanskrit there are five traditional commentaries before the recent one prepared by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri of Trivandrum. Before coming to this important commentary we have to notice the most valuable commentary on Arthaśāstra in the vernacular.

Bhāṣakauṭalīyam

By far the most significant original commentary ever written on Kauṭaliya is a Malayalam commentary scribed to the 12th century A.D. No particular name is given to the commentary by the anonymous author though similarities with the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmī is evident. It is not certain as to who is earlier. The commentary is available from the beginning upto the end of the 7th Adhikaraṇa. In other words, a total of 116 out of 150 Adhyāyas of the Arthaśāstra is commented upon in the available portion. This was published from Trivandrum and Madras by K. Sambasiva Śāstri, V.A. Rāmaswāmi Śāstri and K.N. Ezhuthacchan in four volumes.

The Malayalam commentator was a native of Kerala who is familiar with the topography and customs of the region. In explaining the sources of pearl, he explains the variety 'Caurṇeyam' of the text as procured from the river Cūrṇī flowing through the town Muracī in Kerala. This place is also mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvanśa. River Cūrṇī is one of the longest of the 41 rivers of Kerala with a length of 142 miles. The matrilineal system of inheritance prevalent among the Keralites is also mentioned by the commentator. The commentary also gives various details in explaining the passages of the text very often giving illustrations. The stories of Piśuna, Kaṇiṅka, Ghoṭamukha, Kiñjalka and Piśunaputra are given for the first time in details. Without such explanation the very passage of the text becomes intelligible. Details regarding the inscription of the King and the mode of mentioning the year are also supplied similarly. Rājavarṣa is explained as regnal year of the king. The commentary states that the records must be written like "in the particular year of King Mahāsena" etc. In dealing with Yantras the variety called Bahumukha is described as three or four-storeyed structure on wheels so that the archers could climb over it and send the arrows into the fortification. Similarly, other machines like Sarvatobhadra, Jāmadajnya etc., are closely described by the commentator. The specifications of these machines are also given. In short, the commentary for the first time supplies reliable information on various aspects of the text, especially on the technical side.

Śrīmūlam

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri (1860-1926) has given for the first time a complete commentary of Arthaśāstra pressing into service his rich experience as the renowned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Services. He has given to his commentary the significant name 'Śrīmūlam' - the source of prosperity after the name of his patron Śrīmūlam Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore (1885-1924) to whom the work is dedicated.

In his introduction to the three part edition of Arthaśāstra. he has justified his attempt in bringing out a new-edition and composing a new commentary. The limitation of Shama Śāstri's edition based on a single manuscript is too well known. The long experience as Curator helped Gaṇapati Śāstri to unearth five manuscripts of the work from the different parts of Kerala though he used only four of them since the fifth had decayed beyond use. Copies of three incomplete commentaries of the texts,

Pratipadapañcikā of Bhaṭṭasvāmī, Nayacandrikā of Madhavayajvan and an anonymous Malayalam commentary were also procured. The Śrīmūlam commentary mostly owes its material to those three early commentaries. They were rather fragments and not fit enough to be published.

Arthaśāstra consists of 15 Adhikaraṇas and 150 Adhyāyas. The three commentaries mentioned above supplied him with the material for almost 12 Adhikaraṇa and 139 Adhyāyas. In other words, he was left on his own for 3 Adhikaraṇas and 11 Adhyāyas. While the ancient Malayalam commentary provided him with the material for the first seven Adhikaraṇas consisting of 116 Adhyāyas, Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan supplied him the basis for almost 6 Adhikaraṇas from the 7th Adhyāya in the 7th Adhikaraṇa upto the 4th Adhyāya of the 12th Adhikaraṇa. Then the second commentary was available to him for 37 Adhyāyas from 103 out of a total of 150 Adhyāyas. Bhaṭṭasvāmī's commentary for the last 29 chapters of the second Adhikaraṇa helped him to have a comparative assessment of the Malayalam commentary and the Sanskrit commentary.

This was the material on which Gaṇapati Śāstri built up the monumental structure of the Śrīmūlam commentary. He considered that it was his good fortune to procure these early commentaries. To date we have not come across any ancient commentary dealing with the last three Adhikaraṇas and as such Gaṇapati Śāstri's gloss remains the only material to help the students of Arthaśāstra.

Contribution to Studies

The Arthaśāstra is a difficult text to understand and without the help of traditional commentaries the connotation of the passages could not be grasped. The author has used many technical terms which need adequate explanation. The *yantras* used in war are frequently referred to and only with the help of the commentary the nature of the Yantra can be known. Similarly, many stories are alluded to as instances. Here, again, the full story is needed to appreciate the situation. Since these anecdotes are not met with in any other source, we have to entirely depend upon commentators. The ancient Malayalam commentator has come to our help on such occasions and his explanations are summed up by the Śrimulam commentator in Sanskrit. In fact, till the publication of this latest Sanskrit commentary the appreciation of the text was not adequate. R.P. Kangle had the benefit of using this commentary in his translation and he could do justice to the

text to a large extent. Still we could not say that the text of Kauṭilya has yet been fully appreciated. It is true that studies have appeared on different aspects of the text by competent authorities. But one must remember that even the earliest available commentary of Arthaśāstra shows a gap of nearly nine centuries from the date of the author. We have to continue our efforts to locate ancient commentaries on the text for a complete appreciation of the monumental treatise of Kauṭilya.

5

VEDIC FOUNDATION OF KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Dr. B.B. Chaube

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, dealing with the science of governmental administration, is a monumental and authentic work on the subject which Indian mind had ever produced. Before Kauṭilya many treatises on the science of politics had been written by different Acāryas, but none was so complete, comprehensive and accurate as that of Kauṭilya. It was, of course, a compendium of almost all the previous works composed on the subject by the ancient Acāryas. By the time of Kauṭilya, who flourished in the fourth century B.C., the composition of Sūtra texts forming the final part of the Vedic literature had almost come to an end. A particular branch of Sūtra texts, viz, the Dharmasūtras under the broader nomenclature Kalpasūtras, was mainly composed to deal with the duties of all Varṇas and Āśramas. These works also dealt with the duties of a king under a specific section called *Rājadharma*. While dealing with the *Rājadharma* the *sūtrakāras* based their concepts on the Vedas which were regarded as the source of all knowledge. Though the political condition of India in the time of Sūtrākaras was not the same as in the time of the composition of Vedic hymns, the Vedic concepts of Rājadharma, as found in the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, still continued to be regarded as an ideal model by the Sūtrakāras and it was the main reason that, like in many other religious and social matters, in political matters, too, the opinion of a Brāhmaṇa, knowing Veda, was valued and in matter of dispute he was regarded as the final

authority. Kauṭilya, before writing his *magnum opus*, had gone through not only the treatises on Arthaśāstra, but also the Dharma-sūtras, Brāhmaṇas and Samhitās as well. A great respect has been shown by him for the Vedas. While prescribing the *vidyas* which a king must learn, Kauṭilya quotes the views of some Ācāryas of different schools. According to the Mānavas, the followers of Manu there are only three *Vidyās* viz Trayī, Vārtā and *Daṇḍanīti* to be imparted to a king.[2] They include *Ānvikṣikī* under *Trayī*. Thus, according to the followers of Manu, Ānvīkṣikī is not separate from *Trayī Vidyā*. According to the Bārhaspatyas, the followers of Ācārya Bṛhaspati, there are only two *vidyās*, viz, *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti* for the king.[3] They do not believe in *Trayī* for, according to them, it is merely a source of livelihood for the common people. According to the Auśanasas, the followers of Ācārya Uśana or Śukra, there is only one *vidyā*, viz *Daṇḍanīti* for the king, for, according to them, it is the source of all *Vidyās*.[4] But Kauṭilya's own view regarding this is in the favour of the four *vidyās*.[5] According to him, the very *Vidyātva* of the *Vidyās* lies in the fact that they make us know what is *Dharma* and what is *Adharma*. Since *Trayī* mainly concerns with this aspect[6], hence its supreme position among the *vidyās*. Though *Trayī* is a synonym of Veda, Kauṭilya makes a difference between the two. According to him, *Sāman, Ṛk* and Yajuṣ — these three vedas are the *Trayī*, and *Atharvaveda and Itihāsaveda* are the Vedas.[7] What is Itihāsaveda?. According to Kauṭilya Purana, *itivṛtta ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa = mīmāmsā*), dharma-śastra and Arthaśāstra these six constitute the *itihāsaveda*.[8] The *Trayī-dharma* establishes all the *varṇas* and *Āśramas* and helps them in discharging their respective duties.[9] It was the firm belief of Kauṭilya that people living in the established Ārya bounds of morality deserving the rules of *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* systems, and protected by the *Trayī*, lead a happy life and never suffer from misfortune.[10] Therefore, Kauṭilya says that it is the bounden duty of the king not to allow his subjects falling down from the path of *Dharma*. A king following this bounden duty enjoys his life in this world and the world hereafter. From this Kauṭilya's high regards for the knowledge as well as observance of the *Trayī-dharma* it can be easily surmised that while writing his Arthaśāstra as a sole handbook of governmental administration he always kept in his mind the ideals of Vedic government. In this paper an attempt will be made to discuss the Vedic political thoughts which became the foundations of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

In the Vedic texts we find references to the three types of government, viz. theocratic (*dharmocratic*), democratic and monarchical. Prior to the evolution of any political institution, the society was governed by the rule of *Ṛta*, which we may call the dharmo(theo)-cratic self-administration. The rule of *Ṛta* as an eternal law not only governed the functioning of nature[12] but also the entire creatures, man also being one of them. As all the phenomena of nature worked according to a fixed law and order, likewise everyone of society was following the law of *Ṛta*. This was, of course, an ideal state of affairs when people were governed by the law of Dharma on their own accord without any other enforcing agency. In the Ṛgveda we find references to this rule of Ṛta over all the creatures very frequently.[13] The words *arājaka*,[14] *arājatā*,[15] *aparuddha*[16] used in the Vedic texts point to the existence of society without a king. The most clear reference to the dharmocratic rule is found in the Mahābhārata where it has been stated that there was neither state nor kingship; neither the punishable nor the punisher; all creatures protected each other on their own accord taking it as their dharma.[17]

But this ideal rule of *dharma* on one's own accord suffered a set back when anger, pride, greed, selfishness hatred and many other demonic evils prevailed upon the minds of the people. As a result of this, the stronger began to terrorise the weaker. Now there was a need of such a powerful and rightminded person who could not only protect the weaker from the paws of the stronger but also punish the latter for his unrighteous act and establish the rule of *dharma*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to this condition when gods in absence of a king saw their defeat the hands of demons. When they elected Soma as their king, they conquered all the directions.[18] The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* also refers to the condition when in the absence of water drought prevails and there arises a situation of *matsyanyāya*.[19] Actually, in the political history of India, the situation of *matsyanyāya* never prevailed. However, it was mentioned in ancient texts only to emphasise the need of a king. Kauṭilya too, emphasising the need of a king, refers to the situation of *matsyanyāya*. He says that if due punishment is not given, it creates the situation of *matsyanyāya* in the society for in the absence of a king the *inflicter* of Daṇḍa, the stronger devours the weaker;[20] Kauṭilya mentions that people made Manu as their king for their protection when they were subjugated by the situation of *matsyanyāya*.[21]

The Vedic Samhitās, especially the Ṛgveda and the

Atharvaveda, clearly refer to the existence of democratic form of government in the Vedic age. The head of the government was called *Rājan*. But he did not ascent the throne by the virtue of his hereditary right. He was elected by the people. There are ample references to the system of electing a king in the Vedic texts. The AV says, 'O king, the people of the land (*viśah*) have elected thee for the kingship; these directions, the five goddesses have elected thee. Be seated on the highest position of the nation and therefrom distribute wealth among the subjects.[22] A seer of the RV says; 'O king, we have taken thee as the head of our nation; thou as much be amidst us; stand thou fixed, not unsteady; let all the people (*viśah*) like thee and I set not the kingdom fall away from thee.[23] It is to be pointed out that in the democratic set up of Vedic government due importance was given to the interest of the subjects and the protection of the nation. King was elected by the people only to guard and protect the nation. If he was not so powerful or intelligent enough to protect the nation, he could be removed from the kingship and another person was elected in his place to rule the nation. Sometimes, a king once removed from the kingship could again be brought to the kingship if he could anyhow win the confidence of the people, and assure them to provide a healthy administration. In the AV there is a hymn in which a king is referred to as winning the heart of the people and regaining his lost kingdom.[24] However, the stability of the king once elected was desired and many rituals were performed to this effect.[25]

In the Vedic texts there are also ample evidences to prove the existence of monarchical type of government in the vedic age. The region occupied by the Aryan people was divided into a number of states each of which was ruled by a king. The states were usually small in extent, but the terms Samrāj,[26] Ekarāja,[27] and Adhirāj[28] found in the RV and other Samhitās suggest that a king carved out a fairly large kingdom and assumed grandiloquent titles showing his superiority over other kings. The description of great sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha* and the *Rājasūya* shows that the ambitious kings tried to be all powerful by extending their sway over neighbouring kingdoms. However, it is a matter of controversy whether the government in Vedic age was democratic or monarchical. Evidences in favour of both the systems are not meagre. Dr. P.L. Bhargava is of the opinion that there is no inconsistency in two types of evidences. According to him, the statements referring to the election of the king by the people are

not inconsistent with the hereditary succession, for, according to him, the election by the people was in reality only their formal sanction. However, this formal sanction shows that the voice of the people carried weight in the matter of succession to the royal throne.[29] It may be pointed out that whether the kingship was elective or hereditary in the vedic period it did not count much, for in both the systems it was the bounden duty of the king to protect his subjects. Like an elected king, a dynastic hereditary king could also be dethroned if he did not look into the interest of the people. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to Duṣṭaritu, king of Sṛnjayas who was dispensed from the principality that had existed for generations.[30]

In the beginning, when the institution of kingship started, the main function of the king was to lead the army against the enemies to protect his subjects and the state. In the Vedic texts the king has very frequently been called *goptā janasya* i.e. protector of the people.[31] It was also his duty to protect the law or Ṛta and as such he was called *Ṛtasyagopa.*[32] As a protector of the Ṛta he was Varuṇa. As Varuṇa keeps the rule of Ṛta among the gods, the king was expected to protect the law of Dharma in his state. At the time of coronation, he was called Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa Indra and Rudra.[33] As Yama he was inflicter of punishment on the criminals; as Kubera he was custodian as well as distributor of wealth to his subjects; as Varuṇa he was the guardian of moral law; as Indra he was the conqueror of the enemies and as Rudra he was terrible to the sinners.[34] In the vedic concept of kingship, all gods are taken as residing in the king. However, it is to be pointed out that the divinity in the king was metaphorical. He was divine in his duties.

In the age of the Brāhmaṇas the interminghing of Āryan society with the non-Aryan elements had started. In the social intermingling the original vedic concept of *dharma* might not suffer, therefore it also became one of the duties of the king to protect the Brāhmaṇas who were supposed to be the custodians of *dharma*. Now the king assumed the title of *dharma-pati.*[35] Being *dharmapati,* he was *adaṇḍya*, i.e. not punishable, by any human being. However, in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* too, he was not above the law of the *dharma*. The concept of *dharmadaṇḍa* in order to check him still continued. In the coronation ceremony, the Adhvaryu and the subjects sprinkling waters on him called him 'adaṇḍyosi' and at the same time a Brāhmaṇa standing before the king used to say 'dharmadaṇḍyosi,' O'king you are

punishable by *dharmadaṇḍa*.[36]

The Vedas lay down certain qualities which a king must possess. The YV says that a king should be valiant, skilled in archery, exceedingly piercing and great fighter.[37] On account of having these qualities he was called Kṣatriya, the possessor of kṣatra sovereign power. These qualities were prescribed for king keeping in view his main duty to protect his subjects and the state. In war he happened to be the commander of his army. The most important quality that a king must possess is the power of discrimination between *dharma* and *adharma*. A seer of the RV says : 'O Rajan, be the head of our nation eliminating the unright or untruth from the right or truth.[38] He should be generous towards his subjects. A king is the guardian of Ṛta, hence he should possess an excellent moral character. The AV says that a king can protect his nation only by the power of brahmacarya.[39] Laying down the qualities of a king Gautama Dharmasūtra (XI. 1-8) clearly says that the actions of the king should conform to the norms of right conduct laid down in the scriptures, and his utterances should be just and discreet; he should be well versed in the vedas and logic; he should be endowed with integrity, uprightness and self-control.

Besides the function of protecting his subjects and the state from the invasions, the king had many other functions to discharge. Firstly, he was expected to provide a healthy civil administrative units. The various political units of the vedic age were *Grāma*, *Jana*, *Viś* and *Rāṣtra*. The *grāma* was a group of houses built near each other for purposes of safety. The village was the smallest unit and the chief of the village was called *grāmaṇī* i.e. the leader of the village. The word *grāmaṇī* indicates that in the democratic system of vedic government he was the leader of the village and represented the village in the meetings of the state government. He was assigned the duty to look into the day to day affairs of the villagers. He was also responsible for protecting the subjects on behalf of the king. He happened to be very rich person. In RV.X.62-11, Manu has been mentioned as a *grāmaṇī* and an epithet *sahasrada*, i.e. 'the' giver of thousands of cows has been attributed to him. Seer Nabhanediṣṭa bestowing his blessings on him says that 'let not Manu, the son of Savarṇa, be injured; the glory of his *dakṣiṇa* be gone with the sun in all regions. May gods extend his life under whose rule we, doing our deeds without being tired, may receive food.'[40] ṚV X.107.5 refers to the bounteous character of the *grāmaṇī* who occupies

the first position among the people of the village on account of giving *dakṣiṇā* in plenty to the priests.[41]

The second bigger political unit of the state was *Janapada*. the habitat of the people of a particular clan. In the ṚV the word *Jana*, besides meaning man as individual, also denotes a clan. We find references to a number of *Janas* in the Vedic texts. RV III. 53.12 and VIII 6.48 refer to the *Bharatajana* and *Jādava Jana* respectively. ṚV VII.18.11 refers to the existence of 21 *janas* on both sides of the *Paruṣṇi* river who fought against Sudas in the great Dasarājña war, and were defeated by the latter. The most famous *Janas* of the Ṛgvedic period were Yādavas, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Purus. The word *pañcajanah* most probably has been used with reference to them. The head of the Jana was called *Janarāja* (Rv. I.53.9)

The biggest unit of the state was called *Raṣtra* which was under the rule of one monarch. A Rāstra had many *janapadas* in it. Many Janapadas constituted a rāṣtra. The whole people of the nation were called viś. In the RV we find references to two types of viśas viz. Ārya viś[42] and Dāsi viś,[43] which most probably refer to the Ārya and Dāsa people residing together in the same nation. The king was called viśpati or viśāmpati. In a number of passages in the Vedic texts we find references to the ideal relations between the king and the Viśas. The king was elected by the viśas, and he could remain as king as long as they wanted him. The moment the viśas withdrew their support the king was turned out. The king always tried to win the favour of the viśas. Many rituals were performed in the vedic sacrifices to establish a happy relation between the king and the Viśas. The TS.I.6.10.9 says that in the sacrifice what is done with Sāman the fruit of the sacrifice goes to the nation and what is done with the RK the fruit of the sacrifice goes to the subjects (Vis).[44] The TS III.5.7.5 says that the Rāṣtra is leaf (parṇa) and the *viś* is *Aśvattha*. Therefore, when the landle (jahu) is of *parna* and the *Upauhrt* (sarificial cup for keeping ghṛta) of Aśvattha thereby he puts the king above the viś[45].

In the early Vedic period the viśas had full control over their king. The king too. on his part. had high regards for the public. He regarded his kingdom as a pledge and himself as its trustee. At the time of coronation, the kingdom was handed over to the king with the remarks. 'O king this is your kingdom, you are its controller; it is handed over to you for its protection, preservation and growth.'[46]

In the early Vedic period the viśas had check over the king

through two popular assemblies known as *sabhā* and *samiti*. These assemblies played very important role in the functioning of the government. In the AV VII 12.1 they have been called the twin daughters of Prajāpati. In the RV the word *Sabhā* denotes both an assempbly of the people and the hall where the people assembled. This hall was also used for other purposes such as dicing and other social functions. According to Ludwig, the *sabhā* was an assembly not of all the people but of the brāhmaṇas and māghavans (rich patrons). The members of the *sabhā* were called *sabhāsads*[47] and its president was called *sabhāpati*.[48] To be a member of the *sabhā* was considered a coveted honour. In the ṚV. I.91.20 Soma is referred to as granting a son to the worshipper, worthy of being a member of the *sabhā*. In the ṚV II.24.13 it is said that a *vipra* desiring to be a member of *sabhā* offers oblations along with the hymn of praise to the Brahmaṇaspati. In the YV blessing has been bestowed upon the sacrificer to obtain a son worthy of being a member of the *Sabhā*. The Maitrāyaṇi Samhita (II2.1) mentions *Sabhā* in the sense of the court of the village judge viz *grāmyavādin*. The VS (xxx.6) mentions *sabhācara* who was the member of the *Sabhā*.

In the Vedic texts *samiti* is also referred to very frequently. It seems to be a general body which included representatives of all the people. The king used to preside over the meetings of the *samiti*. He was expected to be present in all its sessions. This *samiti* was also known as *samsad*[50] and its members too were known as *samsad*.[51] In the meetings of the Samiti the officers of the king had to make announcement about the wealth which the king had collected from the people from all places (ṚV. VIII-45-25). It was desired that there be consensus on all matters in the meetings.

In the age of Brāhmaṇas and sūtras, the society began to centralise around the kingship. The check of *sabhā* and *samiti* over the king had disappeared. In this period there was only one check over the king and it was the check of *dharma*. In the par. Gr. Sūtra the word pārṣad has been used for *sabhā*, but this had nothing to do with the governmental administration.

In the political history of Vedic India, side by side with the king the *purohita* played a very important role. The king and the *purohita* representing *Kṣatra* and *Brahma* powers were the two wheels of the chariot of Vedic government. The purohita accompanied the king not only in his religious matters but in all political matters also concerning the king. Even in the battle field

he used to go with the king and prayed there to gods for the victory of the king. Emphasising the supreme position of the Brāhmaṇa priest the ṚV says that 'That very king resides well established in his palace; to that very king the earth gives plenty of good always to that very king his subjects (Viśah) bow down on their own accord, in whose kingship the Brāhamaṇa priest occupies the place of prominence'. That very king, being himself unconquered, wins the wealth to the Brāhmaṇa priest. The gods protect that king. 'Vasiṣtha, Agastya, Viśvāmitra were the famous priests of the time. The Vedic *purohita* was the brāhmaṇa minister of later times. In the Brāhmaṇa and the sūtra peṛiod, too, the *purohita* enjoyed prominent position in all the religious and administrative matters. The Dharmasūtras lay down certain qualifications for a Brāhmaṇa to be appointed as a *purohita*. The Gautama Dharmasūtra (XI.14-15) says that a learned and eloquent Brāhmaṇa of good family, handsome appearance, suitable age, virtuous disposition, high character and austere habits should be appointed as the *purohita*; and the king should follow his instructions in the performance of religious duties. The AP.D.S. (II.5.10,14) lays down that a royal *purohita* should be proficient in the scriptural knowledge (*Dharma*) as well as in the political scieṇce (*Artha*). The Śrautasūtras prescribe a sacrifice called Bṛhaspati-sava for Brāhmaṇa who aspires to become a royal *purohita* (A ps's, xxii-7-6; kat.s's xxii. 5.11).

The later Vedic texts mention a large body of royal officials indicating the development of the administrative system in the later Vedic period. The Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras prescribe a particular offering called Ratna-*havimṣi* in the Rājasūya sacrifice. There *Ratna havimṣi* offerings (twelve in number) were offered at the houses of the persons of the royal entourage who were called *Ratnins*. The list of the Ratnins as given in all the *samhitās* of the Black YV. (1) Brāhmaṇas, (2) the Rājanya, (3) Mahiṣi. (4) Senānī (the commander in chief of the army), (5) Sūta (charioteer of the king (according to Dr. Bhargava) he was more probably a ministrel and court poet and predecessor of the purāṇic sūta), (6) grāmaṇī (the leader of the village). (7) Kṣattṛ (chamberlain), (8) sangrahītṛ (either a charioteer or master of the house of the king or his treasurer). (9) Bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), (10) Akṣavāpa (superintendent of dicing which was a royal sport in those days), (11) Takṣan (the royal carpenter), and (12) Rathakāra (the royal chariot-maker).

There are also references to spies (*caras*) and messengers

(*dūtas*) in the vedic texts. Spies were engaged by the king to derive information about the kingdom and the people. The epithets *sahasrākṣa, urucakṣas, bhūri-akṣah* for the living kings allude to the existence of human spies appointed by the human kings in the vedic age. Messengers were the means of communication between the kings of different states.

The early vedic texts do not give much information about the administration of justice and the code and procedure of law followed in those days. However, the Dharmasūtras have discussed these topics with clarity.

This vedic concept of governmental administration, as found mentioned in the early and later vedic texts, was before Kauṭilya when he compiled his Arthaśāstra. At the time of Kauṭilya the political situation was quite different. Keeping pace with the situation of time he advocated for the monarchical type of government. His aim was to establish such a powerful empire whose administration would be solely in the hands of the king. According to him, a powerful king only could provide healthy administration. Like Vedic seers he also used divine epithets like Indra and Yama for the king. However, by using these divine epithets he did not want to make his king a divine personality. It was a kind of trick to be used by the king himself to know the opinions of his subject about him and also to arouse their feeling of respect for him. Moreover, Kauṭilya was a realistic man. He mentions the king as Indra and Yama only with a view to making his position stronger. He should not be insulted or disobeyed. If some one disobeyed him, he was punished by the divine power. In the time of Kauṭilya the kingship had become centralised. All the varṇas and Āśramas looked to the king for the protection of their *dharma*. As a result, the king began to be called the *dharma-pravartaka*. The Rājājnā – order of the king – became one of the four sources for the disposal of the disputes, the other three sources being *dharma, vyavahāra* and *caritra*. Kauṭilya puts the *Rājājnā* in the last and says that the succeeding sources are stronger than the preceding ones. *Vyavahāra* is superior to *dharma*, *caritra* is superior to *vyavahāra*, and *rājājnās* superior to *caritra*. Generally, in the clash of *caritra* and *vyavhāra* with *dharmaśāstra*, the latter is regarded as authentic, but, according to Kauṭilya, if there is a clash between the rightful decision of the king and the Dharmaśāstra, the former should be taken as authentic. A king ruling with *dharma, vyavahāra, caritra* and *nyāya* (justice) should conquer the earth in all directions.

Kauṭilya laid down certain qualities which the king must possess. It is to be pointed out that the qualities of the king which he laid down in his Arthaśāstra are the same as they have been prescribed in the Vedic texts. Kauṭilya says that in order to keep his empire protected from the enemies and to give a good administration a king should be conversant in the four *vidyās* viz. *Ānvikṣikī, Trayī, Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*. He should always try to get the knowledge of these *vidyās* from the Ācāryas well versed in these *vidyās*. It should be the nature of the king to keep himself engaged in learning the śāstras, for thereby he develops self confidence. According to Kauṭilya, scholar king always engaged in providing education and administration to his subjects and doing good of all rules the earth unhindered for a long time. But the most essential quality for becoming a scholar king, according to Kauṭilya, is *indriyajaya* i.e. the control over his senses. This *indriyajaya* for a king of Kauṭilya is the same as the *Brahmacarya* for a king of the Atharvaveda. The king should keep away his sense organs from their objects viz *śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa* and *gandha* by leaving aside the *kāma, krodha, lobha, moha, mada etc*. By *indriyajaya* Kauṭilya also optionally means the observance of acts as laid down in the śāstras. Here, Kauṭilya seems to follow the Gautama D.S., according to which the king should conform to the norms of conduct as laid down in the scriptures.

Kauṭilya, following the Vedic tradition, accepted the importance of the *purohita* (the royal priest) in the religious as well as other administrative functions of the king. He enjoins upon the king to appoint a *purohita* who is born in high family, who is endowed with modesty, who has the knowledge of the Vedas and Vedangas, who is well versed in astronomy, science of omens and *Daṇḍanīti*, who is competent enough to ward off divine or human misfortunes through the Ātharvanic means. The king should follow the *purohita* as does a pupil his Ācārya, a son his father, and a servant his master. The royal Purohita was such an important personality in the state that his advice was taken by the king in the appointment of ministers. When the *purohita* was found guilty in performing his duty or conspiring against the king, he could be arrested and punished. However, Kauṭilya does not prescribe death sentence for the Purohita who happened to be a Brāhmaṇa, even though he has been guilty of committlng a great offence.

Kauṭilya mentions a large body of royal officials which had become necessary with the development of administrative systems in his time. However, in laying down their duties he always kept

in his mind the ideals of vedic government to do good for the subjects by following the path of Ṛta.

References

1. पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थज्ञास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम्। *Arth.*, I
2. त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः। त्रयी विशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षकीति। *Ibid*, I.1
3. वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति बार्हस्पत्याः। संवरणमात्रं हि त्रयी लोकयात्राविद इति। *Ibid*, I.1
4. दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौनशसाः। तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति।
5. चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः। ताभिर्धर्मा यद्विद्यात्तद्विधानो विद्यात्वम्।
6. धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्याम्। *Ibid.*
7. सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी। अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचिति ज्योतिषमिति चाङ्गानि। *Ibid*, I.2
8. पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः। *Ibid*, I.4.
9. एष त्रयीधर्मश्चतुर्णा वंर्णानामाश्रमाणां च धर्मस्थापनादौपकारिकः।
10. व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः। *Ibid*, I.2.
    त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति। *Ibid*, I.2.
11. तस्मात्स्वधर्म भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत्।
    स्वधर्म संदधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह नन्दति॥ *Ibid*, I.2.
12. Chaubay, B.B. *Treatment of Nature in the Ṛgveda*, Hoshiarpur, 1970.
13. ऋतस्य हि शुरूधः सन्ति पूर्वीर्ऋतस्य धीतिर्वृजिनाति हन्ति।
    ऋतस्य लोको बधिराततर्द कर्णा बुधानः शुचमाना आयोः॥
    ऋतस्य दृष्ळ्टा धरूणानि सन्ति पुरूणि चन्द्रा वपुषो वपूंषि।
14. ऋतेन दीर्घमिषणन्त पृक्ष ऋतेन गाव ऋतमा विवेशुः॥
    ऋतं येमान ऋतकमद्बनोऋतस्य शुस्मस्तुरमा उ गव्युः।
    ऋताय पृथिवी वहुले गभीरे ऋताय धेनू परमे दुहाते॥ *RV.*, IV.23.8-10
15. *Tait. Br.*
16. *Ait. Br.*, I. 3.3. (I.14)
17. *AV.*, III. 3.4.
18. न राज्यं न च राजा सीन्न दण्डयो न च दाण्डिकः। धर्मेणेव प्रजाः सर्वे रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम्॥
    Mbh., *Śānti*, 59.14.
19. ते देवा अब्रुवन् अराजतमा वै नो जयन्ति। राजानं करवामहा इति तथेति। ते सोमं राजानमकुर्वन्। ते सोमेन राज्ञा दिशो जयन्। *Ait. Br.*, I.3.3
20. *SB.*, *XI.* 6.24.
21. (दण्ड) अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावति। बलीयानबलं ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे।
    K. Arth.
22. मात्स्यन्यायभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे। *Ibid.*
23. त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय त्वामिमाः प्रदिशा पंचदेवी।
    वर्ष्मनाष्ट्रस्य ककुदिश्रमस्व ततो नो उग्रो विभजा वसूनि। *AV.*, III. 4.2.
24. आ त्वादार्षमन्तरेधि ध्रुवस्तिष्ठाविचाचतिः।
    विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधि भ्रशत्। *RV.*, X. 173.1.

25. आ त्वा गन्राष्ट्रं सह वर्चसोदिहि प्राङ्विशां पतिरेकराट् त्वंविराज।
सर्वास्त्वा राजन्प्रदिशो ह्वयन्तुपसद्यो नमस्यो भवे है।
AV., III. 4.1. Also see *AV.*. III. 3.1.6, II 3.1.8; II 5.1.1.
26. *RV.*, X. 71.2; 5; *Ts*, III. 4.8.1.10; III. 5.7.5; V. 2.1.7-8, IV 7.24-25, V. 4.9.7.
27. *Ṛ*V., III. 55.7., etc.
28. *ṚV.*, VII. 37.3; *AV.*, III. 4.1. etc.
29. ṚV X. 128.9; *AV.*, VI. 98.1; IX. 10.24, etc.
30. Bhārgava, P.L.
31. *ŚB*, XII. 9.3.1.
32. *ṚV.*, III. 43.5.
33. Cf. Mbh., Śānti, 68-40-45.
34. *ŚB*, V. 4.2.8; XII. 9.3.3.
35. *ŚB*, V. 4.7.7.
36. आ राष्ट्रे राजन्यः शूर इषव्यो तिव्याधी महारथो जायनाम्। *Yv.*, xxxii. 22.
37. ऋतेन राजन्नमृतं विचिन्वन् मम राष्ट्रस्याधिपत्यमेहि। *ṚV.*, VII. 3.4.11.
38. ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं वि रक्षति। *AV.*, XI. 5.17.
39. सहस्रदा ग्रामणीर्मा रिषन्मतुः सूर्येणास्य यतमानैतु दक्षिणा।
सवेर्णेर्दिवाः प्रतिरन्त्वायुर्यभिन्नश्रान्ता असनाम वाजम्।। *ṚV.*, X. 62.11
40. .... दक्षिणावान् ग्रामीणीरग्रमेति। *RV.*, X. 107.5.
41. *RV.*, X.II. 4.
42. *RV.*, IV. 28.4; VI. 25.2.
43. यहै यज्ञस्य सामनक्रियते राष्ट्रं यज्ञस्याज्ञीर्गच्छति। यदूचा विशं यज्ञस्याशीर्गच्छति।
Ts., I. 6.10.9.
44. राष्ट्रं वै वर्णो विउश्वत्थते यत्पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवत्याश्वत्थमुपभृद्राष्ट्रमेव विश्यध्यूहति।
Ts., III. 5.7.5.
45. इयं ते राड्यन्तासि यमन्ते ध्रुवो सि धरूणः। कृष्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा रय्यै त्वा पोषाय त्वा।
YV., IX. 22.
46. *AV.*, VII. 12.2; XII. 55.7.
47. *S.*, XVI. 24; *Taits.*, IV. 5.3.2; *Kath.*, 5, XVII. 17. etc.
48. यत्रौषधीः समग्मत राजानः समिताविव।
विप्रः स उच्यते भिष्ग्रक्षोहामीवचातनः *RV.*, X. 97.6
परि सद्मेव पशुमन्ति होता राजा न सत्यः समितीरियानः। *RV.*, IX. 92.6.
49. या वृत्रहा परावति सना नवा च चुच्मुवे।
ता संसत्सु प्रवोचत। *RV.*, VIII. 45.25.
50. विद्म ते समे नाम नरिष्टा नाम।

6
ARTHAŚĀSTRA AND THE VEDIC LITERATURE

Dr. (Smt.) Sindhu S. Dange

The science of polity dates backs from ancient times and it bore the name Daṇḍanīti, which seems to be its oldest name. The later writers, however, prefer the name Nītiśāstra and have named their treatises likewise. Thus, we have Kāmandaka's Nītiprakaśikā, and Śukranīti. It seems that the works on polity went under the name Arthaśāstra also. As Kauṭilya points out, the Arthaśāstras were composed by earlier teachers for the acquisition and protection of the earth, and, with the help of these works, Kauṭilya composed his Arthaśāstra.[1] Thus, the Arthaśāstra thrived on the concepts provided by the earlier works, and nothing in India could be dissociated from the Veda and its tradition. So, even the works on the science of polity can be traced to the Veda and the Vedic tradition.

M.bh. (XII.58.7) makes a mention of rulership by the term *rājaśāstrapraṇetāraḥ*; and, in this connection, we find the names of Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Kāvya (Uṣanas) Mahendra(i.e. Indra), Prācetasa Manu, Bhāradvāja or Bharadvāja and Gauraśiras. It is worth mentioning that some of these names can be traced to the Vedic tradition.

M.bh. (XII.59) traces the science of polity from the god Brahmā, who is said to have composed a hundred thousand chapters of the said science. We have the legendary accounts of Viśālākṣa, Indra, Bāhudaṇtaka, Bṛhaspati, Kāvya Uṣanas, composing their works on polity in fabulous number of chapters,

thus, Indra composing in 5000 chapters, Bāhudaṇtaka in 3000, Bṛhaspati in 1000. Though the account may be taken as fabulous, there can be hardly any doubt that it contains some grain of truth as far as Bṛhaspati and Kāvya Usanas are concerned, who appear to have veritable schools of polity.[2] Bṛhaspati and Usanas are known as priests (*purohitas*) in the Vedic tradition; and some of the authorities are mentioned even by Kauṭilya (Arthas.I. 8.1ff and other places, I.17.4ff.etc.). The Purohita is regarded by Kauṭilya as the king's adviser, guide and helper in all spheres of his activity. Kauṭilya states that the king should appoint a priest, who comes from an exalted family and possesses good character, is throughly trained in the Veda and its ancillaries, in knowing the divine signs and omens and in the science of polity; he should also be capable of countering human and divine calamities by means of Ātharvaṇic remedies. The king is instructed to follow him as a pupil follows his master.[3] The high position of the *purohita* made him fully conversant with matters connected with the running of the state. Thus, the tradition that early Purohitas formulated the science of polity has the basis of truth, though Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas might be doubted as being historical personalites. As the Purohitas were expert in magical rites of the Atharvaveda, the inclusion of the Aupaniṣadic section, dealing with various occult practices (Adhikaraṇa IV) in the Arthaśāstra can be justified in a work on Indian polity.[4]

Though there is no mention of the election of the king, the *ratnins*, sabhā, and the saṃiti, which are mentioned in the Vedic literature, are the basic concepts Kauṭilya has accepted. It is to be noted that some of the *tīrthas* (functionaries) mentioned by Kauṭilya tally with the *ratnins*, mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa- texts in the context of the Rājasūya.[5]

Monarchy is taken by the Arthaśāstra to be the basic form of government; and, in the absence of the king, the *mātsyanyāya* is said to prevail (I.13.5-7). The people overwhelmed by the *mātsyanyāya'* made Manu Vaivasvata their king.[6] This is only the echo of the Vedic thought, which points out that military necessity led to kingship. The Ai. Br(I.14) states how the gods thought that they were worsted because they had no king; and hence, they elected one by common consent. The mātsyanyāya (i.e. the larger fish devouring the smaller ones, or the law of the jungle) mentioned by Kauṭilya is traced to the Śat. Br., which says that whenever there is drought the stronger seizes upon the weaker; for; the waters are the law.[7] Several other works also have expressed

their apprehension of the prevalence of the *mātsyanyāya*. in the absence of the king.[8]

Like the Manusmṛti and other works,[9] the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya is conversant with the concept of the divine nature of the king's office, and makes use of it safeguarding the position of the king. Thus Kauṭilya makes a spy among the citizens and country-man (*paura-jānapadāh*), that the office of the king is that of Indra and Yama, since the king's wrath and favour are visibly manifest and that the divine punishment strikes those who slight the kings. Hence, the kings should not be despised (I.13.10). The very fact that Kauṭilya equates the king with Indra, in this respect, shows how firmly the Vedic concepts of kingship have captured his thoughts. Again, it is interesting to note that the king's giving hearing to the reports brought by the spies, resulting into meting out punishments to the culprits corresponds to the Vedic picture of the god Varuṇa, surrounded by his spies.

Kauṭilya devotes one full chapter to the lores or sciences (vidyā-s) to be studied by the king. These are Philosophy, the three Vedas, Economics and the science of polity.[10] He states that the three Vedas are the Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda and the Yajurveda. He also states that the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsaveda are Vedas. He mentions the six auxiliary sciences(I.3.1-3). The law laid down in the Vedic lore is beneficial according to him, as it prescribes the respective duties of the four *varṇa-s* and of the four stages of life(I.3.4)

According to him, the study of the Vedas is important to know the *dharma*, which is to be followed, and *adharma* which is to be avoided. Thus, the importance of the Veda is stressed here from the social and political points of view, and one is reminded of Manu's saying '*vedoa 'khilo dharma-mūlam*' (II.6. The king is the guardian of the social order. Kauṭilya lays down that the king should not allow the stipulated duties of the different beings to be transgressed by them (Artha. I.3.16); for, by ensuring adherence to each one's stipulated duty, the king ensures his joy after his death, as he finds it in this life.

The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas and economics is the *daṇḍa*, wielded by the king (I.4.3; I.5.1). On it is dependent the orderly maintenance of worldly life. *Daṇḍa* being the symbol of state-authority, the science bore the name Daṇḍa-nīti in the tradition referred to by M.bh. Kauṭilya states (I.4.8.8-10f.) that the king severe with his *daṇḍa* becomes a source of terror to beings. On the other hand, the king mild

with the *daṇḍa* is despised. The king just with the *daṇḍa* is honoured. *Daṇḍa* used with after full consideration endows the subjects with spiritual good. material well-being and pleasures of the senses. If the *daṇḍa* is used unjustly, whether in passion or anger, or in contempt, it enrages even forest anchorites and wandering ascetics; how much, then, the house-holders? (I.4.12) These words of Kauṭilya are as good as warning to an unjust king that at any time he could be expelled from the kingdom or killed by his own people. The same thought is expressed by other works.[11] The idea that an unjust king is driven away is seen as early as the Taitt. Sam. (II.3.1), which says that such a king could be displaced. The Śat. Br. (XII.9.3.1) mentions a king, Duṣṭaritu Paumsāyana, who had been expelled from the kingdom which had descended to him through ten generations. The Sautramaṇi *īṣṭi* is prescribed as a rite for a king to regain his kingdom from which he had been driven away.

While laying down the number of ministers to form a council, Kauṭilya quotes the opinions of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas, and says that a king should appoint such a number as his own conditions permit. (I.15.47-50).[12] In this context, Kauṭilya makes a reference to an account in the Vedic tradition. He says that Indra, indeed, had a council of ministers consisting of a thousand sages. This council was his 'eye'. Therefore, they called him 'the thousand-eyed one', though he was two eyed (I.15.55-57). Now, the question is - where did Kauṭilya find this reference to Indra's Council? It might be that he quoted it amply from hearsay, or from a recension of some Brāhmaṇa account, which might have been available to him in his times, but which is lost to us. The same holds good when he says that when the chief queen is in her *ṛtu*(-period), priests should offer a caru to Indra and Bṛhaspati (I. 17.24). The context is the control of the prince, when born, lest he should be an affront to his royal authority. Kauṭilya, in this context, sets aside the views of various authorities about the prince who is already there and goes astray. Kauṭilya, on the other hand, speaks of this remedy of the *caru* to the Vedic gods even before the birth of the prince, thus relying on a divine help. There is no direct evidence from the Veda to corroborate the deity of the *caru*, at the birth; but the Śat. Bṛ. does indicate these deities in the context of the Vājapeya, stating that if the king is a Brāhmaṇa, the *caru* should be to Bṛhaspati, while, if the king is Kṣatriya, the *caru* should be to Indra (Śat. Bṛ.V.1.5.1ff.). The *caru* to Indra and Bṛhaspati is, obviously, to infuse the would

be prince with the martial as well as the spiritual lustre on the lines of the Vedic belief noted above: and in this particular context, it seems to endow the prince not only with prowess (Indra) but with sagacity (Bṛhaspati).

Arthaśāstra seems to be conversant with Sītā, the deity associated with agriculture, which dates back to the *Ṛgveda*. Kauṭilya states that while sowing the seeds (in rituals), the king should sow the first handful of seeds, which have been earlier immersed in water into which a piece of gold had been placed, the *mantra* to be recited at this occasion is as follows:-

प्रजापतये काश्यपाय देवाय च नमः सदा।
सीता मे ऋध्यतां देवी बीजेषु च धनेषु च।।

(Artha. II. 24.27)

This *mantra* cannot be traced in the extant Vedic literature, and it may be from popular tradition. However, the verse indicates homage shown to Kāśyapa Prajāpati, who is regarded as the creator of all beings in the Brahmanical tradition. Invocation to the deity Sītā is in line with the Vedic tradition in which Sītā (the furrow) is regarded as a deity.[13] Indra is requested to preside over the Sītā.[14] Indra, though a warrior-god, is also a god of fertility;[15] and, hence, he is requested to preside over the furrow, regarded as a deity full of *payas* (lit.)- milk, and symbolically, 'desired fruit', "milking" the desire of the worshippers year after year. The AV also contains the *mantra*-which are almost similar to the ones from the ṚV.[16]

The impact of the Vedic ritual tradition on the mind of Kauṭilya is so great that the whole curriculum of the king is given in the terminology of sacrifice.[17] Again, when Kauṭilya lays down that on the previous night of the commencement of war, the king should observe fast and should sleep near the weapons and his vehicle (i.e., horse), one feels that Kauṭilya has before him the image of sacrificer, who has to remain awake for the whole night, previous to the actual rite, placing pieces of wood in the *Brahamaudanika* fire; and if he cannot keep awake, he is advised to put a big log of wood and sleep in that fire-chamber.[18]

Kauṭilya enjoins that king should take the army into confidence when the war is at hand, and should inspire the soldiers for fighting. The king is made to quote, at this time, the words from the Vedas, that a person taking the final bath at the end of a sacrifice, in which gifts are given, attains the same abode (after death) which is attained by the brave who lay down their lives

in the battle-field. Thus, death in the battle is likened to the *avabhṛtha*, though the passage, as such, is not found in the Vedic texts. The invocation of Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvatī, Savitṛ, Agni, Soma and the first two *vyāhṛti-s* (Artha. XIV. 1-40) reminds one of the five offerings at the Soma sacrifice (Sat. Br. V. 2.3.2 ff.; and other places, these deties are common.)

Kauṭilya's knowledge of the Atharvavedic tradition can be a topic of independent study; but, at this juncture, it is to be noted that he had a thorough knowledge of the spells and the charms mentioned in the AV and the *Kausikasūtra*. To give a few examples:

(i) Artha. (IV.30.40-41) recognises the services of magicians and of those who are experts in the lore of the AV.

(ii) Kauṭilya refers to the rite of *Samvadana* or *Samvanana* (winning the love of a man or a woman with the help of magical charms and potions; IV.4.14;5.1 etc.)

(iii) He mentions the magical rites for obtaining inexhaustible wealth, for winning favour of the king, for afflicting the ememies with diseases, for securing long life or for getting a son (Artha. V. 2.59)

(iv) There are rites to ward off a danger from the country and for destroying the enemies (V.6.2)

(v) The lore called Jambhakavidyā indicates the rites, in which *mantra*-s and herbs are used(IV.4.14).

(vi) The lore called Mānavavidyā is useful to the dacoits and adulterers called Mānava-s. Herein we find the use of the *mantra*-s to get to doors of houses and city-gates opened, to put persons to sleep, to make oneself invisible and to win a woman's love(V.5.1-6).

(vii) Book XIV named Aupaniṣadika mentions several practices, which are supposed to produce miraculous effects. It mentions recipes for causing blindness or killing people on a mass scale (among other things, cf. *Apva* at RV X. 103.12 'AV III. 2.5; AV IX. 8.9), for remaining without food for days together, for walking long distances without getting tired etc. There are rites for causing others to sleep (of. ṚV VII.55; AV IV.5), for opening closed doors etc.

Apart from the various rules,. instructions and the charms, that show influence of the Vedic tradition, together with the Vedic deities, the most striking point is that Kauṭilya firmly believes that the martial power has to be strengthened by the constant association of the Brahman power (Artha.I.9.11) which is the

clear echo of the Vedic tradition. With this dominant influence from the Vedic tradition, it has to be admitted that Kauṭilya betrays some original suggestions and also an influence of the popular beliefs.

References

1. *Artha.*, I.1.1
   पृथिव्या लाभे पालने व यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैमिदमर्थ-शास्त्रं कृतम्।
2. *Buddhacarita*, I.46; where Śukra and Bṛhaspati are mentioned to have composed the *rājaśāstra*. Also Mbh. XII. 270.15 and XII. 137.66. The Bārhaspatya and the Ausanaṣa Śāstra-s are definite śāstra-s going on the names of these two and their schools.
3. *Artha.*, I.9.10
   तमाचार्य शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत।
4. Kangle R.P., *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Pt. III *A Study*. Uni. of Bombay, 1965, p.12.
5. For the *tīrtha-s*, Artha. I.12.6; they are Senapati, Purohita, Antarvamśika (chamberlain), Samahartṛ (minister of revenue) and Sannidhātṛ (minister in charge of treasury). These tally with the *ratnin-s* of the Veda, Senāpati, Purohita, Kṣattr. Bhagadugha and Sangrahitṛ; see Sat. Br. V.3.1.1 ff; also Kane P.V., *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1973, p.111 f.
6. *Artha.*, I.13.5
7. *Śat. Br.*, XI.1.6.24
8. *Rām.*, Ayodhya, 67; Mbh.: Śanti. 15.30; 67.16; Kāmandakīya I.1.
9. Kane, op.cit., pp. 23ff
10. *Artha.*, I.2.1.
    आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः।
11. *Mbh.*, Anu., 61,32,33; Śānti, 92.19; *Manu.*, VII.27,28; *Kām.*, 2.38.
12. Kangle, op.cit.; pt. II. Bombay 1972, p.35, f.n. on sūtra 50: Kangle says that the word *sāmarthya* may refer to the capacity of the ministers or the strength of the kingdom.
13. *RV.*, IV.57.6 where Sita (furrow) is invoked to be *subhaga* ("fortunate", ie. fortune- giving) and *suphala* (fruitful; giver of fruit).
14. *Ib.*7.

15. Dange S.A., *Vedic Concept of the 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*. Bombay uni., 1971, p.104.
16. *AV.*, III. 17.4, 8.9
17. *Artha.*, I.19.33
राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम्।
दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं तु दीक्षा तस्याभिषेचनम्।।
18. *Taitt. Br.*, I.2.9

7
ARCHIVES AND ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Rasesh Jamindar

It is believed that the concept of Archives is modern one and that it is the legacy of the western world. However, it is interesting to verify this idea from our sources and take necessary steps either to accept the prevalent thought or to modify it.

In this small note it will not be possible to examine the whole field, but to concentrate on the topic of the seminar and try to analyse the Arthaśāstra for extracting the information on Archives.

It is a basic fact of experience that Archives are produced by many agencies including the government for managing their affairs and keeping their record in writing. Thus a written document is a *sine qua non* for archival activities. It is therefore highly significant to observe the clear attitude of the author of Arthaśāstra from this angle.

Arthaśāstra contains a specific idea on administration, development and maintenance of record.

Book II which deals principally with the duties of the various Adhyakṣas (executive officers) of the state, of which *Akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa* is of much importance in this paper. It is quite evident from several accounts of this chapter that there was a well defined system of state procedures at central and provincial levels. Chapter tenth of the Book-II discusses about *Śāsanādhikara* (administration) including foreign relations. The importance of records is duly emphasised here. It lays down the procedure of converting oral orders into writing. Not only the instructions of attentive hearing are given, but the form of writing

is also stated clearly. The source of the record, dignity of the order, its logical presentation and its objectives are also specifically noted. The central orders are classified into several catergories and their circulation is carefully noted. Moreover, careful method of writing, with emphasis on clarity and avoidance of mistakes and bad material is also duly mentioned.

The other source of records is different activities of the state. This is very much clear from the chapter on *samāhartā, akṣapaṭala, goadhyakṣa* etc. The detail discussion of income, expenditure, profit, loss, relationship etc. in the text leads one to the second aspect of archival policy, i.e. their maintenance. There is enough evidence to indicate that they were carefully maintained. Without such maintenance, the *ānupūrvī* cannot be established satisfactorily. Moreover, profit and loss cannot be calculated for *Lābhotpādaka vyaya* as calculated in *Samahartṛ samudaya prasthānam*.

However, the problem of the period of maintenance of such records cannot be completely solved from the available evidence from the Arthaśāstra. But the near comtemporary evidence indicates that the records of permanent nature were not only maintained but were engraved on stone for durable memory. In the chapter on *gavādhyakṣa* it is noted that he is required to keep complete record not only of each animal in every herd belonging to the state but also owned by private individuals both by village and district officials under *samāhartṛ* alongwith grains, gold, raw material, dairy products etc. Thus complete record of entire wealth of different items in the state was ensured.

The samāhartā with the assistance of both *gopas* and *sthanikas* was to have a permanent record of all towns and villages classified as big, middle one and small. It seems that most of the information supplied by *gopas* and *sthanikas* was obviously necessary for the *samāhartā* for preparing the annual budget. Thus, *gopas* would be forwarding their records to the *samāhartṛ* through their respective *sthānikas*.

The analysis of various aspects of *Arthaśāstra* thus indicates that the state was the creator of archives of its departments of the centre as well as of regions. These records, as it seems, were not only maintained but were also utilised as and when necessary. This is postively confirmed in the treatment of the office of Akṣapaṭala, translated by Shamaśāstri as 'the office of accountants'. Monahan does not accept this translation, and describes it as 'general record room'[1]. This view is also supported by Ramchandran

Diksitar.[2] It seems from the narration of Arthaśāstra that it was a record-cum-audit office. This office was situated in the capital. It had its own building, with many halls and record rooms. Their doors were facing either the north or the east. Seats for the clerks were kept apart, shelves for account books were also arranged. (Book-II, Chap.7).

This description clearly indicates that the following things were supposed to be essential for a separate building-direction of doors for prevention of direct heat, sitting arrangements for the clerks, precaution in fixing the shelves. This leads us to the third aspect of archival policy-their conservation.

Chap.-7, Book II describes that the following items should be clearly and regularly entered in the prescribed registers: description of all activities of each department, working of state factories and conditions governing the production, salaries and other prerequisites of the state servants, process, barter, weights for various kinds of goods, history of customs, professions and transactions, gains in the form of gifts, their titles to possess and enjoy lands, payments made or amount received from foreign princes, gains to the wives and sons of the king in cash and kind, etc.

It is stated in this chapter that *akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa* should hand over in writing to the king of the estimate of revenue, revenue accrued, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure, balance etc. This leads to understand the scope of the receipts of the records into the state archives which was extremely comprehensive. It is also noted that these documents were to be submitted at prescribed intervals, and their contents were carefully checked. *Akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa* was to control the working of each department and of each state undertaking. At the close of year, it was to his office that every officer was to bring the accounts and balances for submission.

Words like *pustaka, lekhaka, kantakaśodhana, nibandha* etc. lead us to the specific manner of record management. *Pustaka* taken with *nibandha* denotes bound records. *Lekhaka* is record-keeper. *Kantakaśodhana* gives the idea of clearance of records.

It would thus appear that the existence of such a system of receipt, classification and maintenance of records relating to both public and private property, recognized procedure of aquiring system, properly organized machinery for preservation of records, well defined ways of writing the documents, laying down rules for logical presentation etc. was no doubt a very

impressive and distinguishing feature of Indian administration in pre-Christian era. especially in the days of Kauṭilya.

References

1. Early History of Bengal. p. 45.
2. Hindu Administration Institutions. p. 203-4.

8
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Dr. Uma Pandey

Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya was the political advisor to Candragupta Maurya, who ruled in the first half of the second century B.C. He wrote a book entitled Arthaśāstra. The title of the book is quite misleading as it does not deal with Artha., i.e. economics but with polity. Though the main subject matter of the book is politics, other subjects such as agriculture, social life, religion etc. have also been discussed in relation to politics. Hence, by turning over the pages of the Arthaśāstra, one can easily reconstruct the social, religious and cultural life of that time.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to throw light on the religious conditions and beliefs prevalent in the times of Kauṭilya as recorded by him in the Arthaśāstra.

Kauṭilya was a Staunch supporter of *Varṇāśrama dharma*. He believed that the pursuance of one's duties in accordance with one's caste and stage of life led to heaven and brought immense bliss.[1] According to him, religion and duties are mentioned in the Vedas only.[2] Hence, it is clear that being a Brahmin, Kauṭilya believed in the Brahmanical religion. Still a close study of the materials given in the Arthaśāstra enables us to have a glimpse into the contemporary religious ideas and practices prevalent in his time. With the help of this material a vague picture can be drawn of the popular religions and beliefs of Kauṭilya's time.

The superhuman beings referred to in the Arthaśāstra can

be divided into two categories: deities and demons. The former can again be classified into deities of heaven and earth including water. Among the celestial deities we can put Varuṇa, Indra, Aśvins, Śiva, Brahmā, Yama, Senāpati, Aparājita (Vishnu) Shri, Indrāṇi, Jayanta and so on. Kauṭilya says that while laying down a city, temples of Aparājita i.e. Durga, Jayanta, Siva, Ashvins, Senapati, Brahma, Yama and Shri be built.[3] Similarly, to avoid drought worship of Śacināth i.e. Indra and Varuṇa is prescribed for the King.[4] For putting the people of enemy to deep sleep Indrāṇi be worshipped.

The list of terrestrial deities includes objects of nature such as ocean, mountains, trees, rivers etc. which have been deified. Even the furrow, Sītā, is regarded as the presiding deity of agriculture. For a healthy crop the worship of Sītā is recommended.[5] In order to avoid drought the river Ganga and the mountains should be adored. At the times of festivals rivers, mountains, and serpents be honoured.[6] The people were advised to take a holy dip in the Tīrthas and offer oblation to the sea when natural calamities such as plague, cholera etc. threatened the very existence of human beings. To accumulate wealth for the royal treasury, the worship of serpents is prescribed. It is said here that in a hole a statue of a three or five headed snake be put and people be allowed to see it after paying enough money which should be given away for the royal treasury.[7]

In the list of deities sages like Nārada, Kāśyapa and Savarṇigālava are included.

Apart from the deities, worship of demons is also recommended by Kauṭilya. Hence at the time of administering medicine and applying *mantras*, we find salutation to such demons, as Bali, the son of Vīrocana; magician Shabar, Bhandirapaka, Naraka, Kumbha, Nikumbha, Tantukacha, Armalava, Pramila, Bhandoluka, Ghatobala, Amila, Kimila, Vayuchara, Phakha, Puloma, Vihala, Dentakataka, Alita, Valita, Pulomī and so on.[9] Some of these demons such as Samvara, Bali, Virocana, Kumbha, Nikumbha, Naraka and Puloma are known from Mahabharata, while many others occur only in the Arthaśāstra. It is a clear example of the popular religious beliefs referred to by Kauṭilya.

Mention of these deities and demons, alongwith the groups in which they are put together, brings forward many interesting points related to religion. Firstly, reference to the worship of Indra, Varuṇa, Brahmā or Prajāpati, Yama and Kāśyapa, the Vedic deities not only throw light on the composition of the

Arthaśāstra in early period, but also on the prevalence of Brāhmanic religion at that time. Secondly, mention of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and Samkaraṣaṇa, the elder brother of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa i.e. Balrāma, as deities reveal that the Bhāgavata or Vāsudeva cult had branched off. Even Pāṇini's reference also confirms this fact.[10] While commenting on the Sutra, Pātanjali says that by mentioning the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Arjuna, Pāṇini means Vāsudeva a deity. Even archaeological evidences are there which definitely show that in the 2nd cent. B.C. Vasudeva and Samkarṣaṇa were popular deities in whose honour temples were constructed and pillars were dedicated.[11] But one thing is worth noticing here. Addressing Kṛṣṇa together with Kamsa and other demons at the time of salutation suggests that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult had not reached that stage of development as is found in the time of the Ghosundi inscription and that of Pātanjali (2nd cent. B.C.). The Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult of Kauṭilya's time refers to its early stage when Kṛṣṇa could be put with demons or Samkar-shana was worshipped with shaven headed or braided hair ascetics[13]. Moreover, Kauṭilya does not put Kṛṣṇa and Samkarṣaṇa together as we find in the said inscriptions.

References are there to temples and images of deities to be worshipped. Image of Nāga god Nāga Pratimā- is referred here for worshipping.[14] Kauṭilya also talks of Devatādhyaksha and Daivatāchaitya. An indirect reference to the images of gods may be inferred from Kauṭilya's advice to the conquering king, where he says that to frighten his enemy the king should hold conversation and worship the species who pretend to be the gods of fire or after when through a tunnel they come to stand in the midst of fire or altar, or who pretend to be Varuṇa and Naga maidens.[15]

Keeping awake the whole night was regarded as a part of worship.[16] Sanctuaries and holy places, especially of the deities guarding the quarters, were constructed within the palace complex.[17] Even local gods were worshipped.[18] It is clear when Kauṭilya advises Tapas spies to organise great functions on the pretext of worshipping local gods. It should be noted that we do not find reference to images of more important later gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Some Brahmanical sacrifices are also referred by Kauṭilya. They are Somayajna, Ashvamedha yajna, Agnistom, Brihaspatisaua Agrayana[19] etc. It clearly tells the prevalence of Brahmnical religion at that time. A king was supposed to supervise the work of hermits and of those persons well versed in the Vedas.[20] Even

some land called 'Brahmodya' was reserved for Ritvij Ācārya. Purohita and Śrotriya.[21] The successors of these were allowed to enjoy this tax-free land. This Brahmadeyaka land was earmarked before laying down a big city. Janapada. The land which could not be brought under plough was required to be transformed into 'Brahman' after making arrangements for water and greenery in it and be donated to the Brahmin's animals and birds, or the king should turn such land into hermitage for the hermits.[22] It is to be noted that Ṛtvija. Ācārya and Purohita received equal salary with Yuvarāja and Rajmātā.[23] Importance given in various ways to Ṛtvija, Vedajna and others well-versed in performing Vedic sacrifices and teaching the Vedic literature, show that Vedic or Brahmanical religion enjoyed respect in the society. It was the main religion of the time and the Brahmins enjoyed a privileged place in the society which consisted of four varṇas, because of their direct relation with the performance of the religion.

In Kauṭilya's time faith in magic and belief in superstitions were quite prevalent. Witch craft was practised for the personal ends and for the purpose of the state. It shows the impact of the Atharvaveda on the social life of the people.

Even for medical purposes, the knowledge of the Atharvaveda was required. For example, one well-versed in the Atharvaveda was required to kill the serpent who had bitten a person.[24] To drive out the fear of the demons from the people, experts in the Atharvaveda and in the magic were regarded as competent.[25] Generally, people were afraid of the curse of the gods. But those who defied the existence of god, poison was used against them to make them unconscious, attributing it to the curse of god and thus inculcating in them the faith in god.[26] Astrology and the science of dreams were also prevalent among the people. Hence experts in magic were held in great respect. Magic was so developed that one of its branches was known as 'Jambhaka'.[27]

Various kinds of charms were practised such as love-wining, sleep-inducing, invisible making or door opening and so on. Even in war time, witch-craft was practised to win the enemy.[28] It was also believed that a king could have contact with god and thus prove his superiority and win the enemy. Horried practices referred to in the Arthaśāstra remind us of the Tāntrika influence on the people. Thus it can easily be inferred that astrologers, foretellers, sooth sayers and others had an upper hand in those days.[30]

Some strange superstitions were also prevalent at the time of the Arthaśāstra. For example, it was believed that apart from the worshipping of the sea or Varuṇa, the milching of a cow in a cremation ground and burning of a torso were helpful in warding off dreaded diseases.[31] Similarly, waving light in a cattle shed was helpful in combating cattle diseases. It was also believed that placing an umbrella in a varandah, the picture of an arm of a flat as an offering, would help in warding off the danger of demons.[32] Many more superstitious beliefs are mentioned by Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra.

As far as other religions are concerned we find reference to wandering female ascetics and nuns.[33] Such ladies were also employed for spying.[34] References are there to wandering monks,[35] ascetics with shaven heads and braided hair.[36] Such references and reference to Śakya, Tīrthaṅkara and ājīvaka[37] clearly throw light on the prevalence of Buddhist religion. It also appears that Jain ascetics were also there though clear reference to Jainism is not made. One thing should be noted here. Female ascetics were looked down upon in the society. Their entry was barred in the high families.[38] It shows that in spite of the prevalence of Buddhism among the people, it was not given equal respect as compared to Brāhmanism. Another reason might be that female ascetics were never accepted by the Hindu society.[39] On the contrary, male ascetics, clean shaven or with matted hair ,had easy access to the high families. Hence, such persons were employed by the king for spying without giving up their order of life.[40] These various kinds of ascetics are put under different categories of spies classified according to their nature of work.[41]

From the above discussion it is clear that the main religion of Kauṭilya's time was Brahmanism, though some non-Vedic religions such as Buddhism and Jainism were also prevalent among the people. Poor and widowed ladies generally accepted these religions. It is because of this that they also accepted the job of a spy for the sake of money. Apart from the religious beliefs people were superstitious, god-fearing and worshippers of demons, mountains, rivers and animals. Thus the Brāhmanic religion was interspersed with primitive beliefs.

References

1. स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाया नन्त्याय च। *Arthaśāstra,* 1.3.14.
2. न वेद बाह्यो धर्मः। *ibid.*

3. अपराजिताऽप्रतिहतजयन्तवैजयन्त कोष्टान् शिववैश्रवर्णाश्विनौ श्रीर्मदिरागृहं च पुरमध्ये कारयेत्।
4. वर्षावग्रहे शचीनाथगंगापर्वतमहाकच्छ-पूजां कारयेत्। 4.3.12.
5. *ibid*, 2.24.27.
6. पर्वसु च नदीपूजाः कारयेत्। 1.4.3.10
   वर्षावग्रहे शचीनाथगंगापर्वतमहाकच्छ-पूजां कारयेत्। *ibid*, 4.3.12.
7. नागप्रतिमायामन्तश्छन्नायां चैत्यच्छिद्रे वल्मीकच्छिद्रेवा सर्पदर्शनमाहारेण प्रतिबन्धसंज्ञ कृत्वा श्रद्दधानानांदर्शयेत्। *ibid*, 5.2.43.
8. प्रजापतये काश्यपाय देवाय च नमः सदा। *ibid*, 2.24.27.
9. बलिं वैरोचनं वन्दे शतमायं च शाम्बरम्।
   निकुम्भं, नरकं, कुम्भं तन्तुकच्छं महासुरम्॥
   अर्मालवं प्रमीलं च भण्डोलूकं घटोद्बलम्।
   कृष्णकंसोपचारं च पौलोमीं च यशश्विनीम्॥ *ibid*, 14.3.44.
10. ऋतुमत्यां महिष्यां ऋत्विजश्चरुमैन्द्रबार्हस्पत्यं निर्वपेयुः। 1.7.4.
11. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4.3.93.
12. The Ghosundi and Heliodorous inscriptions.
13. *A.S.*, संकर्षणदैवातीयो वा मुण्डजटिलव्यञ्जुनः .... रुदध्यात्। 13.3.54.
14. माता भूमि पुत्रोऽहम् पृथ्व्याः।
15. *ibid.*, V.2.43.
16. सुरङ्गमुखेनाग्निचैत्यदैवतप्रतिमाच्छिद्रानुप्रविष्टैरग्निचैत्यदैवतव्यंजनैः सम्भाषणंपूजनं च उदकादुत्थितैर्वा नागवरुणव्यञ्जनैः सम्भाषणं पूजनं च। *ibid*, 13.1.2.
17. देवरात्रिं .... कारयेत्। *ibid*, 4.3.15.
18. चैत्यपुण्यस्थानम्, दिग्देवताः। *ibid*, 2.4.20.
19. देशदेवतामभ्यर्हितामाश्रित्य। *ibid*, 13.2.15.
    ततः परं नगराजदेवता। 12.4.2.
20. *ibid*, 2.2.2., 4.13.16, 8.16.38, 3.14.29-30, 2.24.30.
21. अग्न्यगारगतः कार्यं पश्येद्वैद्यतपस्विनाम्।
    पुरोहिताचार्यसखः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद्य च॥ *ibid*, 1.19.5.
22. *ibid*, 2.1.7.
23. *ibid*. 2.2.2.
24. *ibid*, 5.3.1.
25. *ibid*, (अथर्ववेदविदो वामचरेयूः *ibid*. 4.3.) रक्षोभये रक्षोघ्नानि अथर्ववेदविदो मायायोगविदा वा कर्माणि कुर्युः। 4.3.40.
26. रक्षोमये रक्षोघ्नानि अथर्ववेदविदो वा मायायोगविदो कर्माणि कुर्युः। *ibid*, 4.3.40.
27. अश्रद्ध्रधानानामाचमनप्रोक्षणेषु रसमवापाय्य देवताभिशापं ब्रूयात्। *ibid*, 5.2.44.
28. *ibid.*, जम्भकविद्याभिः प्रलोभयेत्। 13.2.13.
29. *ibid.*, 4.3.5.
30. कार्तान्तिक नैमित्तिक याहर्तिक व्यंजनाः। *ibid.*, 1.13.23.
31. गवां श्मश्मनावदोहनं कबन्धदहनं देवरात्रिं च कारयेत्। *ibid.*, 4.3.15.
32. *ibid.*, 4.3.41.
33. परिव्राजिका वृत्तिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रगल्भा ब्रह्मण्यन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा माहामात्र-कुलान्यधिगच्छेत्। एतया मुण्डा वृषल्योव्याख्याताः। *ibid.*, 1.12.4.

34. तं भिक्षुकः संस्थास्वर्पयेयुः। *ibid.*, 1.12.10.
35. प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवासितः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तः उदास्थितः। *ibid.*, 1.11.4.
36. मुण्डो जटिलो वा वृत्तिकामास्तापसव्यंजनाः। *ibid.*, 1.11.13.
37. तीर्थकर। *ibid.*, 3.20-21.
38. शाक्याजीवकादीन्।
39. भिक्षुवी प्रतिषेधं ......। *ibid.*, 1.12.13.
40. शाक्या जीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान्। 3.20.16, 1.12.5, 3.14.37.
41. *ibid.*, 1.2.10.

9
DIPLOMACY IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬILYA

Dr. Sadashiv A.Dange

The word 'Diplomacy' has a twofold context. On the one hand, it hints at foreign affairs, which relate to inter-state relationship; and, on the other, it hints at internal affairs. In both the contexts, it dealing with persons and situations of varied nature. To fix attention first on the internal affairs. here not only the various officers are to be closely watched; but, even the queen and the sons need close watch. The Arthaśāstra (A.S.) stresses that the king should never be too intimate to any one, nor should he be carried away by emotions. He has to be above the normal human considerations, though perfectly humane. In this, and in state-crafts, the A.S. is only a land-mark in the tradition of statecratft in India. Kauṭilya refers to various authorities, such as Viśālākṣa, Bhāradvāja, Pārāśara, Piśuna, Vātavyādhi and others. The pivot of the whole state-craft is the theory of *Rajamandala*, as far as the foreign policy is concerned; and both the internal and the external affairs are very much based on Ṣādguṇya, "group of Six Qualities". The traditional saying is that the king sees through the spies. As such, spies are the prime necessity of state-craft. In modern terminology, the spies constitute the "Intelligence Department"; and the necessity of perfection of this department cannot be set aside. Kauṭilya has various suggestions on this account.

The A.S. uses two different words in this connection: (i) Cara; and (ii) Dūta. The first indicates the spies in general, while

the second stands for the emissary, and denotes the ambassador. Actually, the latter is, and has to be, an elevated spy. The general term for the spy is *gūrhapuruṣa*, and rightly so as he is expected to conceal his intentions. The spies have to be employed in various garbs, and to watch various officers and relations. A.S. says that even a spy has to be counter-watched (A.S.I. 11). It gives a list of various spies who are to be employed with the help of ministers of proven ability. One common trait of the persons to be so employed is that they should be poor and also of pure character, the idea being that such good people would be naturally loyal to the king, if their merit is given scope with a deserved reward. Thus, they could gain not only money but also status. The spies are divided as: (i) *Samsthah*; and (ii) *Sancarch*. The *Samsthas* are said to be of five types; and they are as follows:

1. *Kāpaṭika* : He is a bold student, adept in knowing the minds of others. He is also called *chatra*, indicating his quality of concealment (*chad*[1]).
2. *Udāsthita* : He is a person who, outwardly, is one that seems to have renounced the world; but, in reality has fallen from rank. The indication is that he is morose, and badly needs rehabilitation; by giving him some responsible, yet a concealed, job the king could make use of his intelligence.
3. *Gṛhapatika* : This person has a semblance of a house holder, but is not so. He needs a social status of a house holder (the suffix *kan* should be marked; it may be taken as alparthe, though not *kutsayam*).
4. *Vaidehaka* : He is a trader; but not prosperous.
5. *Tāpasa* : He is an ascetic, but feigned. He may be keeping matted locks, or may be clean shaven.

These are called Samsthas, as they are stationary. The following are the roaming spies; hence, they are called Sancara (I.12).

1. *Sattrin* : He is one who has learnt some lore, or magic; such ones have to be necessarily maintained[2].
2. *Tiksnas* : These are very brave and having undaunted courage. They would challenge even elephants and wild animals for the sake of money[3].
3. *Rasada* : He is one who is cruel by nature and indolent, and would give poison to anybody being devoid of mercy[4].
4. *Parivrajika* : She is a widow, may be a brahmin, with free movement into the houses of persons including the officers of kings; being experienced in the ways of the world, and

poor, she could be used for espionage. She could also be a cleanshaven nun, or, may be a woman having contact with many men;

The *Sañcara* type of spies could be introduced as the carriers of umbrellas, fans, sandals and such other things, by the Samstha types. The *Samstha* types, especially the *Tapasa* and the *Sattrin*, are required to collect others who would pass off as students, and introduce them where it is necessary. The *Tapasa* is advised to take meals only once in a month, or two months, apparently, but have sumptuous meals in private. He should get himself proclaimed to be an asrologer[6], know the details of life of the 'Victims' and tell so to them, thus gaining their confidence, to dupe them finally. In this he could get help from other 'feigned' disciples of his. Like-wise help could be taken from actors, singers and so on.

The officers in the kingdom are called 'Tīrtha'. The king is advised to watch them through the spies. These *Tīrthas* are eighteen in number and include the *mantrin* (the minister, including the chief minister), *purohita* (the royal priest, who may also be the preceptor), *senāpati* (Commander-in-chief), *yuvarāja* (the heir apparent), *dauvārika* (the officer of the gates, or the royal gate-keeper), *antarvamsika* (chief of the palace-guard), *prasastr* (the Director of labour corps; or a general administrator), *samahartr* (Revenue-collector) and so on[7]. The spies could be the bath-attender, cook, and such other person in case of the *tīrthas*. For this, dwarfs, hump-backs and others could be used. What the *Sancaras* told the king had to be verified from the *Samsthas*, and *vice versa*. This doubly gained information was to be tested from a third source, before taking the final decision, and action against a *Tīrtha*. A spy who committed a fault of giving wrong information continuously, was to be severely punished. This process is termed 'Kantaka-sodhana', i.e. removing the 'thorns.'

The control of the *yuvarāja*, or heir apparent, who was, usually, the eldest son, forms an important aspect of diplomacy on the internal home-front. The A.S. warns the king against the eldest son (I.17), saying that the prince devours the king, his own father, like a crab (Ib. at 6 *karkata-sadharmāṇo hi janaka-bhakṣa rājaputrāh*). On this point Kauṭilya refers to various authorities, and examines their views to finally discard them. The general consensus of the authorities referred to is that the stubborn eldest son is to be meted out 'silent punishment'. According to Bharadvāja, before fatherly affection has a rise in the hearth of

the king, he should arrange for silent punishment. He, thus, does not want the king to wait for the son's getting grown up. Viśālākṣa envisages the prince to be a grown up boy, showing signs of affront, and suggests that he should be confined to a particular place, so that he should be cut off from contacts. But, this method is not attested by Parāśara who thinks the prince to be like a snake, and that he would, thus kept, recoil on the king himself with the slightest opportunity. He prescribes a stay in a frontier-officer (*antapala*). Pisuna says that the prince being of the nature of a ram, would seek the first opportunity to join the enemy king across the border and would rush onto his father to smash him. He recommends that the prince be kept in a fort under the care of a feudatory. Kauṇapadanta, however, says that, in such a case, the feudatory might control the king himself through the prince. He calls this position to be that of a calf for the prince, whereby the 'cow' (the king) could be 'milked'. He prescribes that the prince be kept with the relations of his mother. But, this policy is not recommended by Vātavyādhi, who thinks this situation to be like that of a 'flag', through which the holder of the flag could extract money from the king. The relations on the side of the mother of the prince could place the prince forward, and, through him, could sqeeze all sorts of privileges from the king. The expression used here is '*aditi-kausikavat*'; and, with the various explanations given the idea is of (magical) control of the king[8]. Vātavyādhi suggests that the prince should be kept engrossed in sensual pleasures so that he would be weak and cease to be a formidable force against his father. Kauṭilya does not agree with any of these authorities; and, in the case of the last, he says that, thereby, the prince would become a living death for the king himself, and the kingdom itself would be in danger ultimately. Surprisingly, Kauṭilya prescribes a sacrificial method of offering carus at the conception and birth of the prince, thus reverting to a divine remedy[9].

The reason behind the adherence to the divine remedy on the part of Kauṭilya is, obviously, due to the thought that the eldest son is the real heir of the kingdom and he has to be protected from evil influences at all costs; and that setting him aside should be the last remedy. He clearly expresses this view when he says that the eldest son is the rightful heir, in the absence of there being no calamity (due to his nature) being really visualized (A.S.I. 17.52 *anyatrapadā aisvaryam jyesthabhagi tu pujyate*). However, he categorically states that a provenly disobedient son

should be kept away from the throne (Ib. 51 *na caikaputram avinītam rajye sthapayet*). In the event of the eldest son being wayward, the A.S. provides his son (the grand son of the king) to be made heir, in the event of there being no other son for the king (I.17.48). Kauṭilya goes a step further, and states that (if there be no other son, and there is no chance of the only son, who is disobedient, getting a son—may be because he is not married, or marriage could not be in his '*putrikāputra*' and for the procreation of sons (Ib. 49, even more than one sons, *putrīkaputrāṇutpadayed va*). In the same context (i.e. of there being no other son, or, now, no daughter to facilitate the *putrikāputra*), if the king is old or diseased (so that he cannot procreate an additional son on his wife, the queen), he should appoint his queen to any near relation for the procreation of a *ksetraja* son for himself (Ib. 50). But, he should not consecrate the disobedient (*avinīta*) son on the throne (Ib. 51, quoted above).

What has been said above is in the context of the king being alive. But, the point of heirship and general diplomacy when the king is almost dying has to be noted. In that case, the burden falls on the chief minister. Kauṭilya instructs that even before there is actual danger of the king sinking, the minister should cause meetings of the people beneficial to the king, place them in the audience of the king at intervals. He should pass on the news that he is not to be seen often. He may also select a person, of the likeness of the king for the purpose of meeting foreign envoys or internal officers, and the person should be made to manage the affairs of the state, giving semblance that nothing is wrong. If the heir is faithful to the king, he should take steps to crown him, in the style of the king himself. Rejecting the suggestions of other authorities who hint the calamity of the king to be an opportunity for the minister and suggest that the latter should usurp the throne, Kauṭilya advices restraint and faithfulness for the chief minister, who is advised to see that there is no revolt in the state. But, what if there be no son (or, if the only son is unworthy as noted above)? Then, he should get a son procreated on the king's daughter; this has to be done through a man of the same caste (V.6.40),[10] and he should get the child consecrated. In his name he should rule the kingdom. He has a further responsibility. He should cause the princess to be guarded in her period (so that there could be no further progeny for her, lest there should be strife); and, lest she be turbid in mind, he should arrange for her a constant company of a member of the family

or of a boy with auspicious marks (Ib. 41-42).

The subtle point in the two cases of the procreation of a son on the daughter has to be marked. In both cases, the queen does not supercede the daughter.[11] Though at both the places the point that is made is that of the son of the daughter, her own status is not the same at both. In the first case the king is not dying, nor dead; he is only old or diseased, and cannot himself procreate. But, even here the daughter's son is given preference to the one procreated on his own queen. And the daughter may be asked to get more than one sons (cf. *putrīka-putrān*), just as if she was a son of the king. It is here that the concept of the '*Pautrīkāputra*' gets clear. In the later Dharmaśāstra texts, the word *putrīka-suta* conveys a double meaning: (i) The *putrikā* (daughter) herself is the son (*suta*); and (ii) The son (*suta*) of the daughter (*putrikā*).[12] This status could be conferred upon her only by the father, in this case, by the king when alive. The daughter in the second case, is only *kanyā*; and, she has to remain unmarried. Such restriction is not for the *putrikāputra*, at A.S. as per later texts on Dharmaśāstra.

The restrictions on the eldest son, and, at times, the necessity to divest him of the throne forms part of the home affairs, which are greatly dependent on the spies. This would show the importance of the spies for internal security and policy-making. We now take up the Dūta. The A.S. deals with the Dūta in one whole chapter (I. 16). The Dūta has to be sent to the other king after the line of action has been fully decided upon, with the help of the various councillors and ministers. The Dūta is of three kinds; and they are as follows:

1. *Nisṛṣṭārtha* : He is to have the qualities of a minister (*amatya-sampadopetah*). As such, he is authorised to speak for the king, argue and take decisions.
2. *Parimitartha* : He is the one who is sent with a limited mission; and, as such, he has limited discretion. His qualifications are a little less than the first mentioned above.
3. *Śāsanahara* : He is the one who has to simply carry the royal message. He possesses only half the qualifications of the first.

It was for the Nisṛṣṭārtha to establish contacts with the forest-dwellers on the way, the frontier-chiefs and others. He was also to watch for places where the army of his king could be

deployed in the event of a war, and to look for all such resources, including the retreat routes. In the event of his arrest by the enemy king, he was to devise plans for his escape, and also to tell the enemy king how such action is against the normal practice of diplomacy. In short, the *Nisṛṣṭārtha* was a highly seasoned diplomat. About the general advice for the *Dūta*, it is said that he should not show himself to be too strong in the midst of the foreigners. He is advised to sleep alone; for, in sleep one is liable to divulge his plans, especially if one is under the influence of a strong drink. He has to be alert and save himself from being duped or killed, so that he could return with the first-hand impressions about the enemy.

The most important, and equally popular, concept in diplomacy is what is termed Mandala-yoni (VI. 1), where the king is termed Vijigīṣu ("One who desires to conquer"), in respect of others, who are logistically ahead of him and behind him. Though the term has the word *maṇḍala* in it, there is no idea of a circle; but the territories are conceived to be in one line with the Vijigīṣu at the centre. The structure would be as follows:

Vijagīṣu

1. Pārsṇigrāha	(Enemy at the back (= *paścad arih*)
2. Ākranda	(*pascād-areh arih pascānmitram*)
3. Parsingraha-asara	(*pascadareh mitram paścānmitrasya arih*)
4. Akranda-asara	(*pascadareh mitrasya arih pascānmitrasya mitram*)

(VI. 1)

1. Ari	(Enemy)
2. Mitra	('areh arih)
3. Ari-mitra	(*āreh mitram 'mitrasya arih*)
4. Mitra-mitra	(*āreh mitrasya arih mitrasya areh arih*)
5. Ari-mitra-mitra	(*āreh mitrasya mitram; mitrasya mitrasya arih*)

The whole idea in the Mandala-yoni is to keep the balance of power. The kings are liable to be logistically enemy and friend, though they may not be actually so in all cases. Likewise, equal birth is believed to create natural enmity (*sahaja-mitrata*), as is the case with the king placed just next to a king. The names Ari and Parsṇigrāha are not fixed: they depend on the march of

the king. If the king marches the other way, the Parṣṇigrāha gets to be the Ari. while the Ari would be the Parṣṇigrāha, and so on (as indicated in the brackets). Apart from these kings, there is the *Madhyama* and the *Udāsīna*. The former is the one whose territory is adjacent to that of the Vijigīṣu and the Ari, and is capable of helping them if they are united, or either of them if they are in strife. The Udāsīna is the one who is outside the sphere of the Vijigīṣu, the Ari and the Madhyama. He is stronger than any of these, and is capable of helping any one of these when solicited (VI. 2.39,40).

The Maṇḍala concept is closely related to that of Ṣāḍguṇya, the six qualities, which are: *Sandhi* (agreement of peace), *Vigraha* (hostile attitude leading to strife), *Yāna* (preparation for attack), *Saṃśraya* (taking shelter with a powerful king, may be the Udāsīna, or the Madhyama), *Āsana* (attitude of indifference, and keeping at one's own place) and Dvaidhībhāva (duplicity, which is being hostile to one and friendly to another; the other sense is dividing the army to deal with two different kings; but, this sense is less probable).[13]

The Sandhi is to be based on any of the conditions of the following: (i) By offering the army; (ii) By offering finance to help in case of war; (iii) By going himself to help; (iv) allowing the use of his territory. In the context of the Ṣāḍgunya, the advice of Kauṭilya is as follows:

1. If there be equal chances in *Sandhi* and *Vigraha*, he should resort to peace, i.e. Sandhi.
2. In a tie between *Dvaidhidhava* and *Samsraya*, he should adhere to Dvaidhībhāva.
3. In the event of equal chances between *Yāna* and *Āsana*, he should opt for Āsana. There are a number of instructions and details (which we omit here) for dealing with various situations (VII. 3). Kauṭilya instructs that a union with a superior king is ultimately dangerous. Such a union has to be only temporary, and in the event of an attack from a stronger enemy. One may even have peace with an enemy in the absence of a superior supporter (VII. 2). Further divisions of Sandhi are interesting. They are as follows, alongwith diplomatic tactics:

1. *Daṇḍopanta*, which is the offering of the army. There are the following sub-divisions of this type:

(i) *Atmamisa* : Here the king offers help in person, with a part of his army;

(ii) *Ātmarakṣaṇa* : Here the Crown-prince or the Commander-in-chief leads a part of the army to help; and

(iii) *Adṛṣṭa-puruṣa* : Here any person of authority may be sent. or the king may send only the army.

It is recommended that in the case of the first two sub-types a marriage alliance should be arranged. In the last the enemy should be killed, a chance presenting itself.

2. *Kośopānata*, which comprises the giving of the treasury, others being kept harmless. It has the following types:

(i) *Parikrayā* : Here wealth is given to save the other things and persons. The gift is in one lot.

(ii) *Upagraha* : Here wealth sufficient to be carried by a person on his shoulder is to be given, at a time; it is to be repeated.

(iii) *Kapāla* : It is just the opposite of the Upagraha. Here much more gets to be given ultimately, as it goes on being repeated for a considerable length of time, or permanently, making drains on the defeated.

(iv) There is no particular name for this type; but, it is said that one may go on saying that things would be sent (VII. 3. 27-30).

In the case of the first two, he may deliver forest-produce, horses and elephants that are poisoned (30cd *purvayoh pranayet kupyam, hastyasvam va garānvitam*). In the third he may go on paying a little.

3. *Deśopānata* : Herein a part of the territory is to be given away to save the lives of important persons and other treasure. It has the following types:

(i) Adiṣṭa : By this Sandhi, one could injure the conquerer through secret agents, such as thieves.

(ii) Ucchinna : Herein land from which all produce has been removed is to be parted with.

(iii) Avakraya : This is when the given, or conquered, territory is freed by giving the produce that accrues from it.

(iv) Paridusana : (called also Paribhusana) : This is where some thing more than the produce from the land is given.

Kauṭilya advises that Sandhi could be made with a more powerful yet defeated king or with one who is equal; but, no Sandhi should be made with one who is weaker than oneself. But, if the weaker king (enemy) fights to his end, he may be given a chance for Sandhi (X. 3.54-57). It has to be understood that these suggestions are only guidelines; and the king concerned has to use them in such a way that he remains the Vijigīṣu. The

conquering king is advised to respect the customs and beliefs of the conquered. also to visit these people often through his officers. or even personally. He should ask his officers to adopt the dress. language and customs of the conquered (XIII. 5.7-8).

References

1. Kangle K.P.. The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Vol. II, p. 21. n. 2
2. A.S.I. 12.1 .....
   अङ्गविद्यां जम्भकविद्यां मायागतमाश्रमधर्मम् .... अर्धायनाः।
3. *Ib.*, 2
   हस्तिनं व्यालं वा द्रव्यहेतोः प्रतियोधयेयुः।
4. *Ib.*, 3.
   ये बन्धुषु निःस्नेहाः पूरा अलसाश्च ते रसदाः।
5. *Ib.*, 4
   परिव्राजिका वृत्तिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रगल्भा ब्राह्मणी - अन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा महामात्रकुलान्यभिगच्छेत्।
6. *Ib.*, I.11.16
   शिष्याश्चास्य वदेयुः, "असौसिद्धाः सोपाधिकः"। *Ibid.*
7. Ib.I.12.6; Kangle, op.cit., p. 24 for these officers; also Kane P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra. Vol. III, p. 112, n. 147.
8. A.S.I.17.18-19
   ध्यजस्थानमेनद इति वातव्याधिः। "तेन हि ध्वजे नादितिकौशिकवदस्यमातृबान्धवा भिक्षेरन्।"

   For explanations see Kangle, op.cit., p. 40, no. 19: 'mendicants earning their livelihood by showing images of gods (*aditi*) and snake-charmers (*Kausika*)' is not convicing, as Kangle rightly says. Kangle's suggestion that the word 'flat' (*dhvaja*) has to be taken note of is acceptable. Probably, the expression refers to a practice of showing an owl on the flat (kausikaowl; and also Indra), the woman who carried it being termed Aditi. We may compare V.6.35. where the minister is to show the child. or any other person. saying. '*dhavjasthanam etat*', indicating that at both places, *dhvaja* indicates a symbol (for the king in this context) of royalty.
9. Ib., 24
   तस्मादृतुमत्यां महिष्यामृत्विजश्चरुमिन्द्रबार्हस्पत्यं निर्वपेयुः।
10. Ib., V.6.40
    कन्यायां समानजातीयापदत्यमुत्पाद्य वा भिषिच्चेन्।
11. In the Dharmaśāstra tradition, this occurs for the first time at the period of Yājñavalkya; cf. Yājñ. Sm.II.135. It is to be noted that the rules of the Dharmaśāstra and those of the

Arthaśāstra do not always concur. the reason being that the latter has political aim. while the former has the social one. For clash between Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra of Narada I.39.

12. Kane. op.cit., p. 647.
13. See Kangle. Op.cit., p. 321. no. 6.

10

LEGAL PRINCIPLES OF KAUṬILYA

Dr. S.P. Narang

It is very difficult to search out the legal foundation of Kauṭilya because law is so much blended with religious social, economic, ethical and political needs that the string is lost in this encyclopaedic work i.e. The *Arthaśāstra*. This paper is an attempt to search out the values of various factors in the formation of Mauryan Polity in general and its legal principles in particular.

Section I (General)

Law : Need of

The law of *daṇḍa* of K. finds its origin together with the orgin of thinking for protection of the poor from the strong in whose absence the law of the ocean (*Mātsyanyāya*) shall prevail and no poor will be able to find his survival[1]. For the performance of law, K. has made a principle i.e. performance of in agreement[2]. It is noteworthy here that contract is a very important doctrine in K's legal system. But the customary law of agreements amongst countries (deśa), castes, families and assemblies is an exception to this general rule[3]. In various contexts, K. has laid down an emphasis on the rules of the territory, castes, guilds, sects, villages, particularly with regard to division of property[4]. In the opinion of K, if a particular custom of a particular territory has become law, for all intents and purposes it shall be valid[5].

Law : a duty of the King

Since the king and his delegates are themselves involved in law, there is a time-fixed in the daily schedule of the king for that purpose[6]. Both types of law are available in K. i.e. on the

initiative of the king[7] e.g. supervision on trade, commerce, lights, adulteration of edible commodities and to initiate criminal proceedings against the culprit and the legal proceedings on complaint from public for which there is a general advice to the king not to indulge in litigation of his own initiative[8]. K. clearly states that the king has to hear in petitions and if he neglects his duty he endangers himself due to public disaffection[9]. Besides, delegation to the *Dharmasthas*[10] is a must because it is impossible for the king to administer law in toto. It is very interesting that K. has made an arrangement for the punishment for Judges who exercise coercion, use abusive language, delay and repeat the judgement; leave the offender unpunished[11] (the cause may be any) (There is no such doctrine in modern law). In such judgements, K. is very particular for Government Treasury. The compensation to Govt. in the form of payment of adequate ransom may be one of the grounds of the release of an offender.[12]

Purpose Protection

The main purpose of administration of law is the *Protection of Public*[13]. It is the legal duty of the public as well to protect themselves. All those who are concerned have a knowledge (a doctor who treats an offender in the context), should inform the appropriate authority about the whereabouts of the criminals. *It is legal duty of public* (a doctor) to report the matter to an authority if he treats a stranger (a solution of modern *ugravādī* problem)[14]. It is at the state initiative that the infants (*bāla*), helpless persons (*anātha*) and women are protected at the hands of cruel-intended people who have a interest against the property and legal matters of such disabled.[15] The *rights of minors* are also to be protected by the state[16]. Any state institution (Prostitution in the context) not *only protects the rights* of its servants but also *is very strict to discharge its liabilities*. If the breach in the contract of a prostitute constitutes an offence on the side of a paramour in the form of penalty, its nonfulfilment on the part of a prostitute attracts whipping on the person of a prostitute[17]. All the provisions and arrangements for the old age of the employee are made by the state and detailed rules are found in *Artha*.[18]

A special protection has been given to animals who have been classified with a stamp not to be murdered[19]. This protection is not only based on ethical mercy but is also based on religious aesthetic and rare species of the birds; utility for testing the

poison against the king and auspiciousness. There is a special provision of *protection of agricultural land* from the molestation of oppressive fines, free labour and taxes, herds of cattle from thieves, tigers, poisonous creatures and cattle disease.

Welfare

The purpose of the law is not only the protection but also to frame rules which may be for the benefit of the public. Whatsoever has been acquired must be *protected* and whatsoever has been protected must be *enhanced*[21]; this is the principle of welfare. In other words, the purpose of law is the *Yoga* and *Kṣema* of all the creatures and not only the human beings[22]. The best example of social welfare may be gleaned from the fact that the *test of the rate of interest* depends upon the criterion whether a particular commodity is consumable by the poor or by the rich[23]. The works of public welfare e.g. construction of the tanks, improving or extending or restoring water. Work is one of the legal duties of the king *particularly for the poor* where rates of taxation for irrigation are less[24]. The welfare of the state servants e.g. the sons of *Gaṇikā* got job as musician of the king from the age of eight and they became the chief actors and chief dancers at the court[25]. A special provision has been made for *Government relief; assistance scheme; widow* and *orphan* scheme. In social matters all the privileges except penal privileges are accorded in K.26.

For *non-earning members*, particularly wife, there is a special provision for maintenance, may be to the extent of food and clothing but it depends strictly on her nice social behaviour towards husband. If she transgresses the social charms of behaviour, sanctity and custom, she loses the right of her legal maintenance and is thrown on the whims of society[26]. This security is enjoyed even by prostitutes[27]. Although a concept of *Indviduality* exists in AS. law but for social *liability* and stability, there is no generation consideration or time-limitation concept[28].

Development

Development is a special feature responsible for the legal concepts of K. The development depends if there are no land-litigation. In order to avoid, he has prescribed the norm of boundaries of the individual fields and village etc. Boundaries (natural) shall be denoted by rivers, mountains, forests, bulbous plants, caves and (artificial) buildings or by trees such a *śamī*

and *kṣīra vakṣa*, there is a special emphasis on the development of villages and public places[29]. Special rules have been made for *Public Conveniences* and breach of such laws shall get both criminal civil proceedings[30]. It is due to the *hygienic concept* in the formation and development of villages. Similarly, if a person throws the foul matter on the other and thus transgresses *hygienic social norm*, he is liable for punishment[31]. Religious places, Highways are to be kept very clean otherwise it attracts the penalty[32]. Dead-bodies of the animals are to be disposed of at a specific place. Transgression of this rule shall attract the fine as per size of the animal thrown on the road[33]. The taxation for the development depends on the basis of accountancy viz. *the income rationality expenditure system* (as demanded by the opposite parties these days for Income-tax), investments, utility and family account[34].

Section II Formation & Values

Contract

An important factor for the constitution in legal system of K. is contract which applies not only to trade, commerce, agreements, employer-employee relationship, wages but also to marital relationships i.e. the duties and liabilities of the spouses and the sexual social relations like in law of prostitution. The conditional law appears to be important string in the golden weigh of K. This principle particularly applies to labour law "e.g. if more work than stipulated has been done without consent of the employer, the employee has no right for the pay to the extent of extra work. On the other hand, if employer fails to pay the wages, he shall be fined. If due to employer, the employee suffers a loss, he has the right of compensation[35]. The criterion of "quality output" is a standard for the "quality of wages" if not previously contracted[36]. For judicial decision the principle of K. may be laid "who has done the wrong". But K. has reasonable grounds for the mentally and emotionally disturbed employees. If an employee has lost the control over his mind; is attracted by love or anger; is ill or has a calamity; has the influence of friends or foes or is torn by pains, was intoxicated, mad or idiot or very old. While evaluating the loss, these become the reasonable considerations and grounds[37].

Even if a prostitute breaks her contract and refuses to co-habit with her customer she shall be lashed with whips or pay 5,000/- *paṇas* as penalty for the break of her contract[38].

Thus in making the judicial provisions, K. protects the interest of both the parties whether the party is a Govt./Semi Govt. or an individual entity. The law of compensation together with a penalty to the extent of five times is found in this law of "Deposits"[39]. The *indemnification* for deposits[40] and the Co-operative traders of guilds[41]. A legal principle of *Interium restitutio* (Restitution of integrity) and payment of *lucrum* in the context of "Pledge" has been evolved by Prof. L. Sternbach[42].

Sociological Impact

For the information of legal rules, K. has taken into consideration the sociological structure viz. in caste-system, social behaviour particularly those of ladies in family structure, social position for various liabilities and social stability including the principle of peace in society and steps for its maintenance.

For validity and non-validity of a particular transaction, the *test of social need is main* consideration. For stability of society e.g. the maintenance of her son, her daughter-in-law and herself a woman can use her property and jewellery when her absent husband had not made any provision for her maintenance; on the other hand, although the property of the woman (*strīdhana*) is her exclusive property, in the times of calamity, disease, famine, prevention of dangers and for charitable acts her husband too may use this property. Even after the death of her husband, if she leads a *pious social life*, she has the right to *strīdhana* but as soon as she remarries, she forfeits this right. In the patriarchal society, the legal heirs i.e. co-parceners as soon as hear of breaking the norms of pure life, shall divide her property[43].

Social liability of the maintenance of the *wife*, the *sons*, *mother, father, minor brothers* and *widow sisters* is not only a social but a legal liability absconding from which without prior sanction of the Government shall attract punishment. Once a person has fallen in the clutches of "Family", he cannot deny it nor can he embrace asceticism[44]. Similarly, the distribution of the property is a legal responsibility whose violation shall attract punishment[45].

Caste : Plays an important role for punishment. If the injury is inflicted on the higher caste, it begets more punishment. But in other cases, if the crime is committed in the same caste it will be treated at par[46].

Social-peace K. in VII. Ch. XVII. (making peace and breaking it) refers to various *kinds of guarantees* for safe-guarding the concluded peace. There were two schools of opinion in this regard

(i) My teacher says that peace, dependent upon *honesty or Oath*, is mutable, while peace with a security or a hostage is immutable. (ii) No, says K., peace, *dependent upon honesty or Oath*, is immutable both in this and the next world. It is for this world only that a security or a hostage is required for strengthening the agreement[47].

Social freedom for ladies

Prior to K. the society was very rigid on the free movements of a lady. On one hand, K. has prescribed strict rules to confine the undesirable and unnecessary movements of a lady, on the other hand he is in favour of the full-knowledge of the family, particularly the good and bad kinsmen through her own experience. Kautilya questions "How is it possible for good women (*Sādhvījana*) to know at least this fact, that the family of her own kinsmen consisting of a number of males is good? It is no offence for women to go to the houses of kinsmen under the circumstances of death, disease, calamities and confinement of women[49].

A ready social subsistence for ladies (i.e. cash in hand) is her *stridhana* which is always in her custody and in emergency, she has not to demand or beg or claim from any party particularly the strangers[50]. Notwithstanding the fact that K. gives extraordinary freedom to a lady, he also expects nice and pious social behaviour whose infringement shall not attract the punishment less than whipping if it is proved beyond doubt that she was making the amorous activities[51].

But if the lady for all the extent and purposes is dependent upon him, it is *his legal duty to provide her maintenance* and he cannot abscond without paying off her debts[52].

Age

Age played an important role in ancient India (as in K. also) for all the matters including that of a witness. A criterion of adult has been laid down by K. viz. in the case of women twelve years and in the case of a man sixteen years of age[53]. The crime against or by non-adult is different from that of an adult.

For *property* also, the age factor plays an important role. The father being dead, his carriage and jewellery shall be the special share to the eldest; his bed, seat and bronze in which he used to take his meals to the middlemost; and black grains, domestic utensils, cows and carts to the youngest[54]. Also the eldest son having no manly qualities shall have only one third of the special share usually given to the eldest[55].

Caste

All the jurists (including K.) have accepted the *caste criterion for* punishment which may be due to two reasons. The caste system is a basic for our social structure and no one could move without this criterion in any field and second, different castes had *different knowledges* of the *seriousness of offence*. A learned may have more knowledge and a less-learned less knowledge. The punishment depended upon the knowledge of the seriousness of the óffence[56].

Witness in the same caste is also interesting with the sociological view-point. The problems particularly in the *expertised fields of* co-operatives, guilds and the similar profession, the person knowing the problems of the same profession not only stands as a witness but also as an expert-cum-witness which may solve the problems better than the general witness[57]. That is why in witness the caste was admitted. In the *oaths* also, while administering the oaths, *sentimental attachment* (like modern religious sentiments) for profession was upheld which once accepted will psychologically pressure a *man taking oath*. This principle was accepted by K. also[58].

Human attitude

Although K. is thought to be a cruel personality in his juridical approach, throughout the *Arthaśāstra*, it appears that he has a very *lenient attitude* for those who *are disabled*, minors, good ladies, good workers and for those who efficiently discharge their duties whereas he *has a strong attitude against unscrupulous and negligent persons*. If by a particular duty, another function is neglected, even in contracts K. will adopt a reasonable attitude, While performing the duty in a jungle where it is not possible for the labour to get food, it is the duty of the Superintendent of Agriculture to *provide food to watchmen*, slaves and labourers in proportion to the amount of work done by them. A sense of non-negligence of duty and a human attitude appear in K.[59].

Non-interference

Although K. is in favour of a social unit, yet, "individual life" is also important in his law. One of the principles he has laid down "*Mind your own business, do not poke your nose in my affairs and consequently avoid undue legal affairs.*" He has again and again emphasised on "Mind your own job"[60]. To avoid legal consequences in property matters he has laid—not encroaching upon what belongs to the other, foundation shall be

laid at a distance of 2 *aratnis* or 3 *padas* from the wall of the neighbouring house"[61].

Privileges

In K. privileges accorded are important in view of legal, fiscal, social and penal matters. Disabled were given state protection. They are under-aged (*bala* and *pogands*), over aged (*vṛddha* and *sthavira*), persons afflicted with disease (*Vyādhita, rogin, ātura*), helpless (*anātha*) and distressed persons (*vyasanin, ārta*). In all the matters, *special attention was given to this poor section of society*[62]. K. has laid down the principle of relaxation of law of limitation for the disabled perhaps only on humanitarian ground[63]. They may not misuse this privilege, for debts this rule shall not be operative on them also[64]. He has exempted them from the clutches of interest also[65]. His principle appears to be, 'Is a particular person in a position to do or not to do a particular action? Undoubtedly, human attitude is blended with his social vision. The disabled are immune against being put in jail[67]. 'What purpose would they have, if they are put in jail' was perhaps his test. K. is very strict about the law for encroachment upon the property of the disabled and immature[68]. He is undoubtedly in favour of freedom of women but to the extent of the voluntary discipline. She can move in society, know her family but for all intents and purposes, she is under the control of her husband[69].

Physiological Vision

Some persons, although belonging to disabled privilege category, are excluded from holding property. The mad, idiot, disabled, sinful, blind, having chronic diseases and those who have renounced the world are disqualified from holding the property[70]. The principle appears to he is a person holding the property will be able to manage it for himself? Has he any bonafide and genuine interest in property? It again leads to another principle - you should hold the property, if you have a genuine interest; you can manage and get pleasure out of holding property. His outlook is sociological through the examination of physiological position. In fact, biological, psychological and sociological reasons are blended together. For the punishment also he has propounded the principle of the intention of hurting the vital organs' which may lead to death. If there is an utterance of harsh words which may subsequently result in physical injury or may inflict a serious pressure on the mind of a person, it shall attract serious punishment.

Psychological Considerations

K. has applied psychological criterion as in the *śāntiparvan* of the *MBH*, that an administrator should fully apply psychological considerations. He should visualize whether a person is contented or non-contented. Those who are contented, honours and rewards should be bestowed upon them while the non-contented should be brought round by conciliation, by gifts or by sowing dissention or by punishment[70]. For the law of agreements and contracts K. has held that agreements between the persons having delicate or emotional relations as invalid e.g. the agreement between son and a father etc. Perhaps the rule is based on the fact that by sentiments individual law is such which is in its final shape, an enemy to the administration of law. Similarly, agreements with dependents, provoked, anxious and intoxicated persons shall be invalid[71].

Sex distinction

K. in administration of law has taken the male or female, their mutual relations and their ulterior validity into consideration. For sex crimes ultimate sufferers are spouses and their relations. It depends on the principle whether her husband accepts her after the sexual crime or not. The ulterior authority is her husband and not the state. For example, in case of aduletry, if the husband condones it, shall not attract severe punishment but if he takes it so seriously that family is spoiled, then a serious punishment leading to the death punishment is given[72].

The punishment for men and women is separate. Even in the jails, the purity of woman is main consideration. Separate jails are prescribed for men and women to avoid corruption in imprisonment and further serious consequences[73]. K. has given a number of prescriptions and punishments if a lady goes out of the house without the consent of her husband whereas these prescriptions are not applicable to men[74]. The punishment for ladies depends upon the social structure of caste plus number of children and the intensity and desire for the commitment of crime[75]. Another principle laid down by K. is that for sexual crimes man is more responsible than a woman, that is why for the commitment of sexual intercourse with desire the boy will get double the punishment than the girl. The criterion of developed and undeveloped is also applied by K. for determining the seriousness of the sexual crime.

Stability

Another important principle of K. is the stability whether

it is social, political or economic. K. appears in his laws to be following the string of establishment of the institutions. His marriage rules are thus for the remarriage of the widow with deceased's brother, or whosoever in qualification and virtues is best and is capable of protecting the lady[76]. This type of marriage is advised so that the social institution of family, children, property, subsequent results of widowhood in Hindu joint family system are avoided. Even today this law in a number of regions is prevalent. Even in legal rights of property, if a widow preserves the heritage and loyalty of her husband, she is entitled for the property otherwise she loses her rights[77].

Utility

K. in all his laws uses the utility of a particular commodity. If a commodity is in the interest of public in general and less-utiltarian to a particular set of people, his laws will be different. The only test may be laid whether a commodity belongs to public interest or not[78]. The utiliarian view applies to the preponderance of punishment in accordance with their utility. If the buds are cut, less punishment, if branches more; if thick branches still more and if the whole of trunk, severe punishment is awarded. He also distinguishes between more or less valuable plants[79]. The birds for the utility to test the poison e.g. *bhṛṅgarāja, cakorā, mattakokila, mayūra, śuka and sārika* are, more important to be protected than general birds and their killing shall attract several punishments[80].

Reward

In a few administrative principles, K. appears to be quasi-Governmental political philosopher. In his opinion, it is not the duty of Govt. only to punish the criminals and maintain law and order. It is the duty of the public persons as well who shall be suitably rewarded in consideration of the recovery of the lost commodity[81]; e.g. if a person recovers a local cattle from thieves, he shall receive the promised reward (Paṇitam Rūpam). To me, it should mean the 'market value' whereas when a man rescues a foreign cattle (from thieves), he shall receive half its value. It appears that the quasi-governmental duties (here theft in the context) are entrusted to the public agencies or agents and the considerable value equalling to full of the cost of the recovered commodity or half of it is given as reward. Such a reward encouraged the persons who are capable of doing a particular job (cf. *Cauroddharaṇikas* of Pala inscriptions = *chaudhury* or head

of the village whose main function would have been catching the thieves by force).

Ethics

The legal principles of K. are based on the ethical values which are applied universally or different ethical values which are applied in different contexts to a particular legal concept. Non-violence, truth, purity, freedom from spite, abstention from cruelty, and forgiveness are duties for all[82]. K. is in favour of reduction of the needs in society. To make a balance in society, lavishly living and extravagant and the person making extraordinary expenditure is reported to the office concerned by the vigilance staff on duty[83].

Confidence

The basic principle of K. in society is mutual confidence particularly in the fulfilment of contracts, agreements, and duties rather to all the liabilities[84]. *The breach of trust* shall not only attract the fine but also full restoration to the extent of fulfilment for the loss incurred[85]. Good faith is the basis of the pledges and trusts[86].

Diligence is another ethical value on which the whole law of K. is based. It is the duty of a physician to inform administrative authorities about undertaking of medical treatment both for the rights of the patient and the security of the state so that intruders are easily caught hold of for the grievous cases, non-deligent doctors were punished. It is one of the most important principle of K. breach of which shall attract penalty in all the spheres of administration of justice including the administrators and judges. For deposits where one accepts the liability, this doctrine applies strictly. It not only brought sin but also punishment for working non-diligently for the security of the object preserved as 'deposit' from robbers, vermin, decay and the like[87]. For negligence, the penalty depended upon the wrong done. By veterinarian, if the animal dies due to negligence, the penalty amounted to the value of the animal but if the illness of the animal is increased but did not result in death, the penalty amounted to the double the cost of the amount usually paid for the successful treatment of an animal i.e. 50% the cost of treatment to 50% penalty[88]. Fidelity in suretyship is another leading principle[89].

K. is in favour of strict punishment if there are secret agreements and *fraudulent* activities[90]. To avail unethical activities and laying a stress on one's ownself i.e. voluntarily ethical

law is another important principle of K.; all the litigations which are based on non-righteous activities and are uneconomical in nature, must be avoided[91].

Although, in non-juridical literature, cruelty and mercilessness are attributed to K. tradition of Arthaśāstra, but its perusal exhibits that Arthaśāstra is based on mercy particularly for those who are disabled, dependents, sick, infants etc. (See *privileges*). He is lenient on the release of the prisoners which may be based on mercy or admistrative problems. An extraordinary humanitarian attitude has been shown for the animals particularly if they have a utilitarian contribution[93]. Special protection is granted to the old, weak and infants against torture for the consideration that they are unable to tolerate it[94]. Although in all the matters, K. is against the fraudulent activities particularly of the property,[95] but for administration, all these fraudulent agreements are valid[96].

Peace

The main object of K. law is the maintenance of peace in all spheres of life. His administration injuncts the protection against cruelty and protection for villages so that peaceful atmosphere is not disturbed. Dancers, dramatists and singers disturb the village life, so special rules are prescribed for the maintenance of law and order for them[97]. The maintenance of peace was widened from criminal law to civil law where force was exercised in litigations which resulted sometimes in violence. That is why surety was prescribed not only to guarantee the peace but also to strengthen it[98].

Logic and reasonability

The reason of K. law is based on a number of bases from family tradition to welfare of the public. In different places, different reasons apply. But some of the universal norms may also be seen in K. In labour law, he has propounded the natural law of contract viz. no work, no pay, which safeguards the interests of the employee and saves the employee from being inactive[99]. The right of property is accepted for widow by K. It is also based on the reasonable consideration that she should maintain the purity of the family institution[100]. A man can use the property of woman in emergency for the preservation of the family in hard times which is a reasonable doctrine provided it is *bona-fide*. About the child in patriarchal society where it was maintained he belongs to father. K.'s opinion is very rational

that it must belong to both the living parents[101]. If a son acquires the property of his father, why should he not pay off the debts but if a debt is taken by father for illegal actions, why the son should pay it off is a reasonable argument of K. Although husband and wife constitue one unit of the family, why the poor dependant lady should be liable for husband's liability when she has not accepted it in clear words particulary when she is too poor that she is not in a position to pay it off and for paying off may become a victim of exploiting forces. About the trust also[102], if a person has exercised diligence for protection and his intentions are not *malafide*, why should he be responsible for the lost or stolen trust? Here K. and other *smṛtikāras* differ[103]. It was for the first time that the travelling allowance and food-maintenance is prescribed for a witness, who is a third and disinterested party in litigation and whom the poor litigants may not afford to bring in the distant courts[104]. K. is very human in approach when he propounds the right to give up the agreement with the employee under reasonable conditions viz. (i) if he was incapable to complete, (ii) if it was a contemptible work, (iii) if he was suffering from disease, or (iv) if he was involved in calamities. Since there are more chances of the frauds on the part of depositee, depositor's interest was safeguarded and generally the law favoured him. The onus was on depositees to prove that he acted diligently and bonafide[105]. For the protection of birds, besides their utility, auspiciousness[106] was also taken into consideration. For penalty, sacredness of the trees was also considered. Beautiful birds were also subject of protection[108].

Economic Consideration

For formation of justice, economic outlook is very important in K. like the social and ethical ones. For the interests, its economic vision is fully taken into consideration. For poor the exemptions are prescribed but for the public risk involved in investment, types of mortgages and pledges; and the duration of period is also involved. K.'s *economic vision is purely* in *favour of the poor*[109]. If wife is economically independent, her liability to pay off the debts subsists but if she is dependent the law is different[110]. K. is very much against the uneconomical transactions in law. What is the expenditure and what is its output particularly from the state is his main consideration for institution of litigation[111].

K. is strictly against embezzelment from state treasury which if done shall attract severe punishment.

These are the main considerations for the formation of legal principle by Kautilya. In fact, he was very vigilant, reasonable in his socio-economic approach and very just in the administration of law who would not spare anyone found guilty on his touch stone he may be the ruler or the ruled.

Section III : Legal System

As propounded previously, K. has Golden Scales in his hand for justice particularly in the non-emotional issues i.e. contracts, agreements, pledges, employer-employee relationship and even marital and sexual contracts.

The *intensity* of crime is based on the *intention* of the criminal[111]. If there is natural calamity and no intention is involved, it shall not constitute a crime. *Natural Calamities* (K.IV.III) are fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers, serpents and demons. If a driver is driving a chariot and the axle breaks, there is culpable homicide, unless he has the intention of doing so it does not constitute an offence[112].

The interested or disinterested parties should be excluded from suits e.g. the king or his officials who may be an interested party, or an ascetic who has absolutely lost interest in the litigation is a disinterested party. Such persons should not be brought in the picture[113] and should be excluded from legal proceedings.

In ancient India *Civil and Criminal jurisdictions* were never separate although K. has laid down some separate rules for both civil and criminal matters. Even in the civil matters, physical punishment e.g. whipping etc. is administered[114]. besides fines and in criminal matters the physical punishment may be avoided in special cases in consideration of substantial ransom to Royal Exchequer for release of criminals. In civil matters the investigation of the witness is very strict whereas in criminal matters no hard and fast rules are laid lest the crime should be suppressed under legal procedures[115] (as per modern technicalities of Cr. Pr. Code).

In criminal matters, the criterion of fine depended upon the extent to which the offender has done the loss. For defamation 24 *paṇas*. Twice as much for assault. If a prostitute cuts the ears of her paramour the penalty is 50¼ *paṇas* and 1½ *paṇa* as fine but if paramour cuts the ears of a prostitute which spoils her beauty and disfigures her, the penalty is 1,000 *paṇas*[116].

Different rules have been laid for the humans and the non-humans for the same offence. According to K., the penalty

depended upon the wrong done. If the animal died due to the negligence of the physician, the penalty amounted to the value of the animal, and if the illness of the horse (illness increased, but did not result in death,) the penalty amounted to double the cost of the amount usually paid for the successful treatment of an animal[117].

But in the case of a patient's death the second highest fine had to be imposed. This amounted in K. to 200-500 *paṇas*. Should the disease be prolonged (a less dangerous eventuality) the punishment fixed for injuries should be imposed[118].

The initiative for the offence was the another principle for the responsibility of the offence. The party who initiates the offence, shall get more punishment than the party who defends itself. Kauṭilya has also laid down a principle of "The Punishment according to the offence"[119]."*Force-Principle*" is an important doctrine in K. which separates the theft from dacoity. Both of them although constitue a similar offence, attract different types of punishment[120].

Procedure

In the Civil-matters, when the complaint has been instituted in the court and the litigation begins, it becomes the absolute responsibility of the plaintiff to prove his assertions himself *Prima-facie* and not the technical procedure of the movements of the litigation, which only offer the formation of the issues. If the plaintiff fails to establish his plaint and absconds from the litigation or tries to withdraw the case, heavy penalties are imposed on him because he tries to waste the time and energy of the court and give undue tortures to the defendent in vain[121].

Besides *Court's jurisdiction*, there is concept of autonomous jurisdiction in K. e.g. merchants (*sārtha*), cowherds (*Vraja*), hermits (*āśrama*), hunters (*vyādha*) and spies (*cāraṇa*) any agreement *inter-se* shall be valid in their case[122].

Court-fee

Another interesting doctrine of the legal principles of K. is the procurement of court-fee only after the decision of the case[123]. It is important because the poor in the absence of the court-fee cannot move the court and long disputes and heavy fee of the advocate, if not afforded, shall defeat the purpose of law. K. has prescribed that if a judge tries to delay the case without reasonable grounds, it shall attract a penalty on the judge himself. It may be inferred that K. believes in the doctrine "Justice delayed

is justice deniled". It is further corroborated by the fact that no less of time is allowed in favour of justice and the defendent is given only 3 to 7 nights for his written statement or reply to the plaint[124].

Ignorance of Law

A fundamental concept of modern law is that the ignorance of law is no excuse. Kauṭilya gives reasonable relaxation to ignorance of law[125]. Whereas jurists from Manu onwards propound that ignorance of law is an excuse.

For constituting an offence, action only is not necessary. The action should follow all the subsequent results so as to complete the offence. If there is an injury and subsequently no death, it is not an offence of homicide or murder. The serious injury may be compensated in terms of money.

The doctrine of *Res Judicata* is not generally elaborated in *Dharmaśāstra*. But K. has referred to this concept lest the litigation followed by another litigation on the same issue does not come to an end. But it will not be operative on criminal robbery[126].

Intention

As the intention is an essential ingredient in K. to constitute an intensity of the offence, similarly intention is very important for punishment. If there is a culpable homicide blended with intention, the hanging is the punishment. But if no intention is involved and the subsequent result of the culpable homicide is death, it may be compensated in terms of money so that the survivors may be compensated[127].

Instigator

The instigator is equally responsible for the offence. But the witness of the offence deserves half the punishment. It means all the parties who are directly or indirectly involved in the accomplishment form the team for the punishment[128].

But if it is a criminal conspiracy, the offender shall get the double of punishment[129]. Perhaps the doctrine of "One for one" which would have been at the root at this doctrine in heroic age (i.e. *Mahābhārata* etc.) if violated it would give double punishment. i.e. One x two = Double punishment.

Evidence

The whole of the case depends on the evidence where witness was strictly admitted in personal and secret cases. K. has admitted the *circumstantial evidence*. In the case of adultery, the least circumstantial evidence of embracing, enjoyment, verdict

by the woman or other circumstances shall be admitted[130]. In the boundary disputes natural or artificial boundary marks are admitted as evidence[131]. In co-operative concerns and guilds. all the private transactions shall be valid[132]. But the persons having greed, infatuation. fear, desire of pleasure, anger, friendship, ignorance and underagedness are not admitted as witnesses[133]. In all the secret transactions one evidence; hearer or seer is sufficient, because there is no possibility of finding a number of evidences[134].

Minor and crime

Kauṭilya has defined child below five as minor and the offence committed by a minor is not an offence[135]. If a rape is committed with a minor, it begets severe penalty.

Repetition

Repetition is a criterion for fine which attracts several punishments in subsequent offence repetition.

From the perusal, it appears that K. is in favour *of removal of the root-cause of crime* so that it may not recur.

It appears to be a primitive and crude principle i.e. "an eye for an eye". In the context, for constituting the crime of excessive milching, the removal of the thumb is prescribed[136]. The gradation of the punishment not only depends upon the intensity of the crime committed but also on the corous of the *corporal of the dead*. Whoever throws inside the city the carcass of animals, such as a cat, a dog, mangoose and snake shall be fined 3 *paṇas*; of animals such as an ass, a camel, a mule, and a cattle shall be fined 6 *paṇas*, and human corpse shall be punished with a fine of 50 *paṇas*.

While imposing penalties, K. never forgets the royal treasury. Even in civil matters, if compensation is given to plaintiff, fine goes to royal treasury. It is because the whole of the system of K. evolves around the strengthening of the royal treasure, which is the strongest ingredient of kingship. As propounded, the extent of punishment depends upon the extent of wrong done. According to K., in the case of the patient's death, the second highest fine had to be imposed. This amounted in K. from 200 to 500 *paṇas* should the disease be prolonged (a less dangerous eventuality).

Some other doctrines of his legal system are as follows-

(1) **Bonafide :** In all the fields of law, *bonafide* could have been pleaded but in the cases, where there are less chances of a change (e.g., in the case of deposits - Sternbach I. 71).

even after a number of years, if the deposit was not returned, no bona-fide could be pleaded.

(2) **Consensus criterion :** In the judgements, if controversial, consensus criterion applied no weightage to the caste (as generally it is given in Indian legal system) is given by K.

(3) **Consent :** In marital relation, the dissolution may be made on mutual *consent* which is generally not allowed in stability-oriented institution.

(4) **Equality in law :** K. applies the principle of equality whether a Govt. servant or a general man, it is observed, if he has committed a crime or a wrong, he is equally liable on reasonable ground[137]. The punishment must be inflicted whether the grades in the case of a Govt. servant and a public man may differ. As stated previously, K. does not spare even the judges.

(5) **Individualism :** The jurist like K. who believes in one unit of the administration on the one hand; stability of the social institution on the other, is also a strong propagator of the "law for individual" and not for society. It is the basis for his change in the punishment to individual according to his age, wisdom, caste and utility to society. "The satisfaction of the individual shall contribute to society" is his social basis. For the personal property purposes, on the one hand, he believes in the "indivisible social unit of property" of the spouses. As general rules, a husband is responsible for wife's debts but visualizing that wife is a separate unit, K. makes a wife also responsible to pay off the debts of the husbands. Similarly, son, if treated as an individual entity, is not liable to pay the surety-money. But in later literature, it was his legal responsibility.

(6) **Vismajor :** Although K. has placed a strict responsibility of contracts, pledges, sureties etc. but as a jurist, the defence of *vis major* in all the fields have been granted. The liability comes to an end, if a greater force consisting of thieves, dacoits, invaders and natural calamity becomes of hinderance in the performance of *bona-fide* activity. The king has been advised to reform such calamities. Any person who suffers loss on those account can take a defence of these reasons.

References

1. Arthaśāstra., 14. अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति। बलीयानबलं च ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे।

2-3. A.S., III.10. तेन देशजातिकुलसङ्घानां समयस्यानपाकर्म व्याख्यातम्। Tr. Shama Shastry (Tr. A.S.) 9th edn. 1967, p. 199.

4. A.S., III.7 देशस्य जात्याः संघस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वापि यः।
उचिततस्य तेनैव दायधर्मं प्रकल्पतेत्।।

5. A.S., III. 1. स्वे स्वे तु वर्गे देशे काले च स्वकारणकृताः सम्पूर्णाचाराः शुद्धदेशाः दृष्टरूपलक्षणप्रमाणगुणाः सर्वव्यवहारास्सिद्धयेयुः।

6. A.S., I. 16. द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत्

7-8. A.S., (Q.KANE)
Not found in Ed. Venkatanathacharya
न राजा तु वशित्वेन धनलोभेन वा पुनः।
स्वयं कार्याणि कुर्वीत नराणामविवादिनाम्।।

9. STERNBACH L. Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, (JSAIL) (Vol. I. p. 33).

10. A.S., III. 1.

11. A.S., IV. 9. (Text. p.2. 34) - उत्तममस्मै साहसदण्डं कुर्यात्। पुनरपराधे द्विगुणम्। स्थानाद्व्यवरोहणं च।

12. Tr. Shama Shastry, p. 167. A.S., II. 119.
दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान् विशोधयेत्।
कर्मणा कामदण्डेन हिरण्यानुग्रहेण वा।।

13. A.S., III. 1. दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं परं चेमं च रक्षति।

14. A.S., II. 36, STERNBACH, op. cit. p. 291.

15-16. A.S.. III. 5. अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां देयविशुद्धं मातृबन्धुषु ग्रामवृद्धेषु वा स्थापयेयुर्व्यवहारप्रापणात्। Tr. details. Shama Shastry, p. 185.

17. Sternbach, op.cit., p. 231 86. 2.50.

18. ibid., p. 269.

19. A.S., II. 26 सूनाध्यक्षः प्रदिष्टाभयाभ्यां अभयवनवासिनां व मृगपशुपक्षिमत्स्यानां बन्धवधहिंसायामुत्तमं दण्डं धारयेत्। कुटुम्बिनामभयवनपरिग्रहेषु मध्यमम्।।

20. A.S., II. 1. verse 5
दण्डविष्टिकराबाधैः रक्षेदुपहतां कृषिम्।
स्तेनव्यालविषग्राहैः व्याधिभिश्च पशुव्रजान्।।

21. A.S., I.4. अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी।

22. A.S., I.5. विनयमूलो दण्डः प्राणभृतां योगक्षेमावहः। Also I. 7.

23. Narang S.P. Bharatiya Vidhiśāstriyon ki ārthika dṛṣṭi. Smaskrtī, 1985 (STERNBACH, op. cit., I. pp.

24. A.S., III. 9. Shama Shastry Tr. p. 195.

25. A.S., II. 27 Details Sternbach, op. cit., 225 ff.

26. Sternbach, op.cit., 329 ff., Shama Shastry, Tr. pp. 177 ff.

27. See Note, 25 and A.S. IV. 13. रूपजीवायाः प्रसह्योपभोगे द्वादशपणो दण्डः।

28. Sternbach, op. cit., pp. 189-90 जीवितविवाहभूमि प्रतिभव्यमसङ्ख्या तद्देशकालं तु पुत्राः पौत्रा वा वा वहेयुः। For the refutation of Shama Shastry's Tr. and J.J. MEYER'S explanation, see foot no. 60 (details). Sternbach's explanation is "*Jivita* might also mean a person and *vivāha* does not mean marriage only, but carrying away too." Thus his tr. is "the debt, the payment of which is not limited as to time or place and in which (1) a person, (2) that which can be carried away or (3) land-form surety, should be taken over by sons or grandsons.
29. A.S., II. 1. नदीशैलवनगृष्टिदरीसेतुबन्धशाल्मलीशमीक्षीरवृक्षान् अन्तेषु सीम्नां स्थापयेत्।
30. Kane, HDS. III.
31. A.S., III. 18 (details).
32. A.S., III. 19.
33. A.S., II. 36. पांसुन्यासे रथ्यामष्टभागो दण्डः। पङ्कोदकसन्निरोधे पादः, राजमार्गे द्विगुणः। पुण्योदकस्थानदेवगृहराजपरिग्रहेषु पणोत्तरा विष्ठादण्डाः मूत्रेष्वर्धदण्डाः भैषज्य-व्याधिभयनिमित्तमदण्ड्याः।
34. A.S., II. 35.
35. A.S., III. 14. उपस्थितमकारयतः कृतमेव विद्यात् इत्याचार्याः।
"न" इति कौटल्यः। कृतस्य वेतनं नाकृतस्यास्तीति।
स चेदल्पमपि कारयित्वा न कारयेत् कृतमेव अस्य विद्यात्
संभाषितादधिकक्रियायां प्रयासं न मोघं कुर्यात्।
For detailed analysis. STERNBACH: Op. cit., pp. 485 ff. and III. 13. वेतनादाने दशबन्धो दण्डः षट्पणो वा। अपव्यमाने द्वादशपणो दण्डः पञ्चबन्धो वा Also STERNBACH op. cit., p. 481.
36. STERNBACH : op. cit., 470. 486 and (Note Supra No. 35).
37. A.S., III. 1 and STERNBACH : op. cit. pp. 474. 66.
38. A.S., II. 27. राजाज्ञया पुरुषमनभिगच्छन्ती गणिका शिफासहस्रं लभेत। पञ्चसहस्रं वा दण्डः, STERNBACH, op. cit. pp. 221, 231.
39. STERNBACH, op. cit., p. 70.
40. A.S., III. 12. आधानविक्रमापव्यपनेषु चास्य चतुर्गुणपञ्चबन्धो दण्डः।
41. Details, MAJUMDAR, Corporate Life in Ancient India.
42. STERNBACH, op. cit., p. 116.
43. A.S., III. 2.
44. A.S., II. 1. अपत्यदारान् मातापितरौ भ्रातृनप्राप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनीः कन्याः विधवाश्चाबिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र पतितेभ्यः अन्यत्र मातुः। पुत्रदार अप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्व साहसदण्डः स्त्रियं च प्रव्राजयतः। लुप्तव्यवायः प्रव्रजेदापृच्छ्य धर्मस्थान्।
45. ibid. Tr. Shama Shastry, p. 46.
46. A.S., III. 19.
47. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 170.

48-49. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 181.
50. A.S., III. 2.
51. Shama Shaṣtry, op. cit., p. 179 (i-ii).
52. A.S., III. 2.
53. ibid, III. 7.
54. Shama Shastry, p. 187.
55. ibid. p. 187.
56. Kane, (Hindi Tr. p. 765).
57. A,S., III. 11.
58. ibid, III. 11. details Kane, op.cit., p. 740-41.
59. A.S., II. 24 Details Sternbach, op. cit., p. 479.
60. A.S., I. 4. स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु।
61. Shama Shastry, op. cit., 191.
62. Detail conclusions - Sternbach, p. 337.
63. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 167.
64. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 327.
65. ibid.
66. ibid. p. 325.
67. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 167.
68. A.S., III. 5. (Note 15-16).
69. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 182; A.S. III, 18-19.
70. A.S., III. 5; I-13, तुष्टान् भूयोऽर्थमानाभ्यां पूजयेत्। अतुष्टान् तुष्टिहेतोस्त्यागेन साम्ना च प्रसादयेत्।
71. A.S., III. 1.
72. Kane, op. cit., p. 711.
73. ibid.
74. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 180.
75. A.S., IV 11-12.
76. Shamashastry, op. cit., p. 183.
77. A.S., III. 3.
78. See Note 29; A.S., III. 19.
79. Sternbach, op. cit., 344 ff.
80. A.S., II. 29 स्वयं हन्ता घातयिता हर्ता हारयिता च वध्यः।
81. A.S., II. 27. Details Sternbach, op. cit.
82. A.S., I. 3. सर्वेषां - अहिंसा, सत्यं शौचमनसूयाऽऽनृशंस्यं क्षमा च। स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय आनन्त्याय च। तस्यातिक्रमे लोकसङ्करादुच्छिद्येत।
83. A.S., II. 36. अतिव्ययकर्तारं अत्याहितकर्माणं च निवेदयेयुः।
84. Sternbach, op.cit., p. 15g.
85. ibid, p. 68 & A.S., III 12. अतिसृष्टोपभोक्ता मूल्यशुद्धमाजीवं बन्धं च दद्यात्।
86. Sternbach, op.cit., p. 133.
87. ibid, p. 290; 54.
88. ibid, p. 315.

89. ibid, p. 163. *Mitākṣarā* on Yājña. II. 53. यद्ययं न ददाति तदानीमहमेव दास्यानीति।
90. A.S., III. 1. Also Note 81.
91. A.S., 7.7.
92. A.S., III. 5 ff.
93. A.S., II. 20, 43, 47. Sternbach, op.cit., p. 346.
94. ibid. p. 332.
95. Shama Shastry, p. 185.
96. A.S., III. 1.
97. Shama Shastry, op. cit., p. 46.
98. Sternbach, op. cit., 170. ibid, p. 17; शपथातिक्रमे महतां तपस्विनां मुख्यानां वा प्रातिभाव्यबन्धः प्रतिभूः। तस्मिन् यः परावग्रहे समर्थान् प्रतिभुवो गृह्णाति सोऽतिसन्धत्ते विपरीतोऽतिसन्धीयते।
99. A.S., III. 14. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 485.
100. A.S., III. 2. अपुत्रा प्रतिशयनं पालयन्ती गुरुसमीपे स्त्रीधनमायुःक्षयाद् भुञ्जीत। आपदर्थं हि स्त्रीधनम्। ऊर्ध्वं दामादं गच्छेत्।
101. Shamashastry, op. cit., p. 188.
102. A.S., III. 16. Kane, op. cit., p. 784.
103. A.S., III. 12; Kane, op. cit., 788.
104. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 490.
105. ibid 54.
106. A.S., II. 29.
107. A.S., III. 19.
108. ibid.
109. Sternbach, op. cit., pp. 508 ff.; Note 23 Shama Shastry, 109.
110. A.S., III. 2.
111. Arthaśāstra IV. II एते शास्त्रेष्वनुगताः कोशदण्डाः महात्मनाम्।
अक्लिष्टानां तु पापानां धर्मः शुद्धवधः स्मृतः।।
112. ibid. IV. 13. छिन्ननस्यं तिर्यक् प्रतिमुखगतं प्रत्यासरद्वा।
चक्रयुक्तयानपशुमनुष्यसंबाधे वा हिंसायामदण्ड्यः।।
113. ibid, III. 11. Tr. Shama Shastry a p. 202.
114-15. ibid III. 11 Kane op. cit.
116. ibid. II, 27. Sternbach, op. cit., I. p. 234.
117-18. Sternbach, op. cit.. I. 314-15.
119. A.S., III. 18.
120. ibid., III. 17.
121. ibid., III. 1.
122. ibid., III. 1.
123. ibid., III. 1. Kane, p. 71-80.
124. ibid., III. 1.
125. ibid., IV. 10-11.
126. ibid., III. 1.

127. ibid IV. 10-11.
128. ibid. III. 1.
129. ibid. III. 19.
130. ibid. IV. 12. केशाकेशिकं सङ्ग्रहणम्। उपलिङ्गनाद्वा
शरीरोपभोगानां तज्जातेभ्यः स्त्रीवचनाद्वा।
131. ibid. IV. 1.
132. ibid. III. 1.
133. Kane, op. cit., p. 737 (A. Manu)
134. ibid. III. 11 रहस्यव्यवहारे ष्वेका स्त्री पुरुष उपश्रोता उपद्रष्टा वा साक्षी स्याद्राजतापसवर्जम्।
135. ibid. III. 3.
136. ibid. II. 29.
137. Sternbach, I. pp. 241 ff. For equality in assets & liability in guilds etc. See Majumdar, *Corporate life in Ancient India.*

11

KAUṬILYA ON FOREIGN-TRADE & RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN EXPORTS & IMPORTS

Prof. H.C. Sainy

As back as in 1667 Survey Jaques stressed over the importance of foreign trade that:

It is the continual exchange of all the commodities and by it, means that there is everywhere abundance of all things.

Even before, in 1664, Mun Thomaa Wroto regarding the economic significance and vital role played by foreign trade said that

"Bohold than the true from and work of foreign trade, which is the great revenue of the king, the honour of the kingdom, the noble profession of the merchant, the school of our arts, the supply of our wants, the employment of our poors, the improvement of our lands, the mercury of our marines, the walls of kingdom and means of our economics for all great and the weighty reasons, do so many well-governed States, highly eountonance the profession and carefully cherish the action, not only with polity to increase it, but also with power to protect it from all foreign injuries, because they know it as a principal in reason of State to maintain and defend that which doth support them and estates".

Similar views have been expressed by Kautilya in his reputed work Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya considered trade as a very prominent source for sustained technological development and a proper and most suited vehicle for the dissemination of technological knowledges, managerial talents and entrepreneurship. The

international trade is supposed to be the transmitter of capital. the longer the volume of trade, the greater will be the volume of foreign capital. It brings rapid industrialisation, and creates permanant assets of export-based industries in the country.

Kauṭilya was a devoted and dedicated politician and has in a detailed way dealt with the various aspects of foreign trade, social and political considerations, that are worth emulating even today. The Arthaśāstra written by him depicts Candragupta Maurya's rule and his ways of work in such a style that it became a guide book for all and this indispensable work was very seriously followed by Candragupta's son Bindusār and his son Aśok. After Aśok, Kuṇāl and Daśrath also received a lot of guidance from Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra. It was only not followed very rigidly, when the Mauryan empire came to an end; King Bṛhadrath was routed by his Commander-in-Chief Puśyamitra and thus the Mauryan rule came to an end:

Detailed descriptions are provided in Arthaśāstra written by Kauṭilya about the state of affairs of India's trade and commerce in those days. He has given a detailed account of the commodities that were traded in, the position of internal trade and the cottage and small scale industries. Kauṭilya describes that East Bengal, Kalinga (Orissa), Kauśāmbī, Mahiṣmatī (Mandhata), Aparant (Koṇkan) and Madhurā (Madurai) were known as centres of excellence for producing superfine variety of cotton. Not only cotton alone, silk and jute industries also flourished well and received great encouragement from the rulers. The programme of industrial development received tremendous support from the kings. Indian quality products were known all over the world.

Trade provided material means (i.e. capital goods machinery and raw semi-finished materials) which were considered indispensable for the process of economic development. It is necessary to discuss recent changes in the global trade.

It is noteworthy trend in the exports of developing countries that it has shown a marginal improvement in their exports. However, the share of developed countries in world market is still dominating. In the year 1984 this share in total world exports was 64.37%. It is still a thing to be recorded that European Economic Community still remains world's single largest trading bloc accounting for 30% share in global trade, whereas the share of U.S.A was 11.39% (for exports) and 17.13% in world imports. When this is compared with that of the developing countries, the

picture does not show much improvement. As is reported for a number of times, India's share in world exports has declined since 1982. The Indian exports are merely 0.58% in world trade and the figure for world imports is 0.65%.

The intra-regional trade of developing countries is extremely encouraging, in respect of all commodities except cereals. In case of cereals the developing market economies still predominate a major market-area. It is observed that the developed countrie's intra-regional trade is more pronounced in case of many factors where nearly 73.7% of the products from developed countries are directed towards other developed countries. This is not true in case of intra-regional trade among developing countries. This is really astonishing to note that developed market economies constitute the major market in all groups of products except animal and oils, fats & chemicals. The position of centrally planned economies is, however, very satisfactory so far as their intra-regional trade is concerned. The trading operations in machinery, manufactured goods, chemicals, crude materials, except food, beverages & tobacco items. In the opinion of experts on international trade in respect of all the items that enter world trade, irrespective of the source of supply, the developed market economy countries still held the torch and they provide a major market.

Trends in Indian exports

The Indian export figure for 1984-85 was Rs. 11,358,97 crores, which was Rs. 9,865,30 crores during 1983-84. This has shown an increase of 15.17%, however on the other hand it showed an increase of 4.58% over the previous year. This figure was Rs. 15762.95 crores in 1983-84 which reached to Rs. 16,484.85 crores. This resulted in an improvement in the country's balance of trade to a favourable side.

It seems necessary to have an analysis of commodity-composition of Indian exports. The products that showed an increase in value terms were marine products, Cashew Kernals, Coffee, Machinery, Manganese Ore, Shellac and Jute manufactures. The products that were not on an encouraging trend were rice, mica, cilcakes, unmanufactured tobacco, cotton, mica, coir products gems and jewellery and metal manufactures, machine tools machinery other than electrical machinery, transport equipment and scientific and other instruments.

When the figures pertaining to Direction-wise exports are

examined, it is seen that in the year 1984-85, Indian exports to North America, East Europe and EEC regions have shown an appreciable increase, whereas imports for this period from west European countries, particularly the EEC, West Asia, South America and East Europe have grown while those from the ESCAP region, Africa and North America have shown a declining trend. A separate Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary Ministry of Finance, Govt. of India has been set up to evolve mechanism and principles to implement the thought-provoking Abid Hussain Committee recommendations. The Govt. has rationalised several policies and procedures pertaining to foreign trade operations in the country. The Govt. is taking all steps to improve the infrastructural facilities for export promotion, particularly at Indian ports. The draft Seventh plan which was released recently aims broadly at the "Trade policies, a pervasive rather than selective guidelines, freeing of exports from the adverse impact of trade restrictions, vigorous resource mobilisation, strict demand management, stability in tafiff structure, building up of an internationally competitive economy and concentration on the expansion of 'thrust' industries with export orientation.

The Govt. has taken several steps such as reduction in export duties, price reduction in Jure manufactures, liberalisation of scheme pertaining to gold and jewellery exports, promotion of counter trade deals with Jordan, Poland, West Germany and Afghanistan and Pakistan of export trade through selected public sector undertakings. Bilateral trade agreements have been conducted with countries like China, Bangladesh, Australia, Congo, West Germany, Norway, USSR, East Germany and Yugoslavia.

While the statistical tables appended at the end are examined it is seen that the developed market economies specialise in a few commodities their intra-regional trade is remarkable. These commodities include minerals, fuels & related products (86.92%), crude material except fuels (77.76%) and ultimately food, beverages and tobacco (67.72%). However, the developed market economies dominate in exports of cereals to developing economies which is 41% as shown in Table I. The exports from developed market economies to centrally planned economies are, however, very meagre.

As discussed in Table II the situation of developing countries is not very encouraging. The intra-regional trade among the developing countries is only 51-05% in case of chemicals and

the share of other exports is highly discouraging. However, the exports from developing economies to developed economies in respect of minerals, fuels and related products are around 67.2%, whereas the same for equipment it has been 62.85%, followed by food, beverages & tobacco at 57.63%. This shows that there are bright prospects for improvement in this field.

Table III gives the terms of trade data (Major & region-wise) taking the year 1980 as base. There seems to be no change in this index as the average figure for developed as well developing economies is 100 and 99 respectively. However, the Asian countries with 109 and North America (107) E.F.T.A. group (106) show an encouraging trend.

The overall situation of Indian exports during the Sixth Plan with a continuous unfavourable balance of trade poses a grave problem (Table 4). This need to be attended to seriously.

Table 5 depicts India's principal exports and shows that India has fared well so far as her export share in the following items are concerned viz:

Pearls, precious and semi-precious stones (9.36); a new item which has entered Indian exports only 5 years back and the prospects of this product are very bright is readymade garments (7.37%), tea and mate 6.22, Machinery and equipment 4.73%, leather and manufactures 3.71% Cotton fabrics, 3.63% and Chemical and allied products 3.21%.

The figures pertaining to India's principal imports in respect of mineral fuels, lubricants etc. at 31.31% of total imports take a lion's share from our foreign exchange. The other details are illustrated in Table 5.

Table 6 reveals that Indian exports show better trade prospects to European Common Market countries (24.69%) and ASCAP Countries (21.86%) followed by Rest of Asia & Oceania 19.93%).

As concluded in Table 7 the Indices of quantity & unit value of exports and imports and not terms of trade of India poses to check the declining trends.

Kauṭilya has mentioned at many places, that the foreign trade of India at the time of Candragupta was in a flourishing state. He observes that trade of India progressed well on account of a variety of reasons. His lessons still hold good and are worth emulation. The economic relations with foreign rulers were strengthened gradually and at times Mauryas maintained marital relations with Arabs and Kings in the middle-east. Skilled workers were worshipped by all and were given a place of honour in the society. They were awarded special prizes for their reputed skills and this produced unique results. The Mauryan rulers spent a lot on infra-structural facilities in the country. There were certain precious metals and the export of these commodities was completely banned, for example, silver, gold etc.

The cotton textile and silk industry was the best-developed export-sector. The kings devoted maximum attention on development of shipping and ports. Kauṭilya has given a detailed description of the state of agriculture, cottage and small scale industries and the various infrastructural facilities that were essential for the promotion of trade and commerce in ancient times. He has elaborately dealt with the various Indian mineral resources. Megasthenese also describes in detail the opinion that in order to develop foreign trade, internal trade on competitive spiritș be developed without giving much subsidies to the producers. He was of the opinion that a rigid quality control is extremely essential to provide a name and fame in international fields to the "made in India products." He has given a vivid discussion of trade taxes, the customs and the other revenues earned through foreign trade duties. At so many places he has given solid reasons that why a particular commodity should not be exported but imported into the country e.g.

'शस्त्रवर्म कवच लोह रथ रत्न धान्य पशु नामन्यतम निर्वाहयम्।

(Translation of Arthaśāstra by De. Prananath)

राष्ट्र पीडाकरं भांडमुच्छिन्द्याफलं चयत्।

महोपकार मुच्छुल्कं कुर्याद्बीजं तु दुर्लभम्।। अर्थशास्त्र 2.21

At several places he has described the code of conduct for foreign trade which is still very relevant.

EXPORTS OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES PRODUCT GROUP WISE AND REGION/COUNTRY WISE

Sr. No.	Product	World	Developed Market Economies	Developing Market Economies	Centrally Planned Economies	Select Regions/Countries EEC	OPEC	Africa	Middle East	Canada	USA	Japan
0+1	Food beverages and tobacco	115296 (100.0)	78085 (67.72)	28386 (24.61)	84536 (7.33)	50304	9365	7680	65594	2457	8157	8014
04		27356	10316	11204	5580	5154	2836	2629	1688	82	68	3219
045	Cereals	(100.0)	(37.71)	(40.96)	(20.40)							
2.	Mineral Fuels and except fuels	64761 (100.0)	50311 (77.39)	9616 (14.85)	3299 (6.09)	26390	1829	1264	1215	1791	6420	831
3.	Mineral Fuels and related products	93468 (100.0)	81245 (86.92)	7693 (8.23)	559 (0.60)	50463	2224	2223	1164	1916	14284	5118
4.	Animal and Vegetable Oils and fats	5057 (100.0)	2853 (56.42)	1949 (38.54)	213 (4.21)	2256	413	670	201	43	100	91
5.	Chemicals	117904 (100.0)	83789 (71.06)	27169 (23.04)	6410 (5.44)	49421	7389	4399	5381	3405	9322	5035
6.	Machinery and transport equipment	426478 (100.0)	290120 (68.03)	118097 (27.69)	15394 (3.61)	129183	43991	21172	35711	25472	71743	7386
7.	Passenger road Vehicles Pats.	69337	61955	7265	109	23260	3486	1457	3083	5302	25593	417

* Motorized and non-motorized road vehicle including bicycles.

Sr. No.	Product	World	Developed Market Economies	Developing Market Economies	Centrally Planned Economies	Select Regions/Countries						
						EEC	OPEC	Africa	Middle East	Canada	USA	Japan
68.	Other Manufacutres	314539 (100.0)	228863 (72.76)	67456 (21.44)	16876 (5.36)	126433	26735	11832	22441	9450	41934	6467
65.	Textiles year and fabrics	32450	23209	7332	2868	15160	2750	1321	2731	926	1705	477
67.	Iron and steel	47813	27613	12702	7344	15221	4958	2086	3925	818	5991	333
68.	Non. ferrous metal	27246	22072	3456	1147	11367	960	385	823	635	4799	1625
69.	Other manufactures	28584	17019	9928	1291	9539	5280	2426	3952	1113	2328	203
812.	Metal products											
84.	Clothing	17937	15259	1889	721	10058	702	299	699	207	1214	319
	Total	**1157293 (100.0)**	**825771 (71.35)**	**265422 (4.48)**	**51870**	**439884**	**93404**	**49810**	**74261**	**65692**	**153576**	**40704**

Note : Figures within brackets indicate percentage share to total.

Source : Compiled from UN, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, May, 1985.*

TABLE 2 : EXPORTS OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES PRODUCT GROUP WISE AND REGION/COUNTRY WISE

Sr. No.	Product	World	Developed Market Economies	Developing Market Economies	Centrally Planned Economies	Select Regions/Countries						
						EEC	Africa	OPEC	Middle East	USA	Japan	USSR
0+1	Food beverages and tobacco	55384 (100.0)	32030 (57.83)	12944 (23.37)	10189 (18.40)	14077	2300	4967	4594	9848	4470	7502
045.	Cereals	5175	569	2869	1703	222	498	1527	1268	14	232	1483
2.	Crude materials except fuels	27074 (100.0)	17222 (63.61)	6469 (23.89)	3295 (12.17)	6813	496	917	1004	2360	5684	1146
26.	Textile Fibres	4417	2074	1168	1154	1026	132	226	109	57	498	346
28.	Matolliferous and metalccrop	7079	6341	853	675	2348	68	168	95	786	2611	259
3.	Mineral fuels and related products	228072 (100.0)	152851 (67.02)	67394 (29.55)	4305 (1.89)	50958	4641	4389	8673	38297	45563	633
4.	Animal and Vegetable Oils and fats	4304	1725	2158	438	1032	370	456	128	412	124	331
5.	Chemicals	9907	4056	5058	677	1212	446	1069	730	1583	705	132
	Machinery and transport equipment	39538 (100.0)	24848 (62.85)	13574 (34.85)	834 (34.33)	5208 (2.11)	1202	4397	3825	16260	1177	68
6.	Other manufactured fabrics	82627	53805	24560	3458	15271	2223	9358	8971	26679	5712	1003

7.	Iron and steel	6296	2822	2941	457	321	239	1563	1384	1485	853	113
8.	Non- ferrous metals	82543	16176	1713	339	2400	83	239	182	2044	1409	113
9.	Clothing	17313	14701	2277	271	4597	253	1100	1169	7635	849	443
	Total	**452090 (100.0)**	**289288 (63.99)**	**133856 (29.61)**	**23378 (5.17)**	**95263**	**11980**	**25737**	**28113**	**96766**	**63830**	**10903**

Note : Figures within brackets indicate percentage share to total.

Source : Complied from UN. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics. May. 1985.*

TABLE III : TERMS OF TRADE, MAJOR REGION-WISE

	1960	1970	1974	1981	1982	1983	1984
Developed Market Economies	117	122	108	98	100	101	100
North America	128	136	115	102	104	108	107
EEC	113	115	100	96	99	99	98
E.F.T.A.	100	104	96	100	106	104	106
Africa (South Africa)	143	143	151	96	NA	85	NA
Asia (Japan, Israel)	175	176	135	101	103	105	109
Oceania (Australia, New Zealand)	122	114	121	107	99	97	NA
Developing Countries and Territories	51	42	80	106	103	99	99
Major Petroleum Exporters	22	19	61	117	115	104	105
Other Developing Countries and Territories	120	125	131	92	87	93	94

Sources : (i) *UN, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. January, 1985 and July, 1985 issues.

(ii) *UN, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics, 1985.*

TABLE IV : INDIA'S OVERALL TRADE DURING SIXTH PLAN

Val : Rs. Crores

	Exports	**Imports**	**Balance of Trade**
1980-81	6710.00	12549.00	-5838.45
1981-82	7805.90	13607.56	-5801.66
1982-83	8907.75	14355.76	-5448.01
1983-84	9865.30	15762.95	-5897.67
1984-85	11358.97	16484.85	-5125.80

P = Provisional

Source : DGCI&S, Calcutta.

TABLE V : INDIA'S PRINCIPAL EXPORTS

Val : Rs. Lakhs

Product	**Unit of Quantity**		**1984-85**		
			Value	**% shares in Value**	**Qty.**
Meat and Meat preparation	Value		7546	0.66	---
Fish. Crustaceans. Molluscs and preparations	OOOT		33560	2.95	90.3
Rice	OEOT		12168	1.07	100.6
Cashew kernels	..		17448	1.54	32.0
Fruits and Vegetables. others	Value		15886	1.40	---
Coffee and Coffee substitutes	Mill. Kg.	73.5	19813	1.74	67.8
Tea and mate	..		70657	6.22	215.9
Spices	OOOT		17242	1.52	90.1
Oil-cakes	..		13119	1.15	782.7
Tobacco unmanufactured and tobacco refuse	..		14733	1.30	75.4
Cotton. raw	..		5679	0.50	30.4
Iron ore	Nill.T.		44688	3.93	23.5
Manganese ore	OOOT		2011	0.18	518.4
Mica. including splitting and mica waste	Mill. Kg		1932	0.17	17.6
Ores. minerals other than iron ore. manganese ore and mica	Value		3386	0.39	---
Stone and gravel	Value		5541	0.49	---
Shellac. seedlac. gums. resins and balsams	OOOT		4838	0.43	33.7
Crude animal materials	Value		2963	0.26	---
Crude vegetable materials	Value		13576	1.20	---
Cotton fabrics	Mill. Sq. Mtr.		41183	3.63	430.0
Silk fabrics	Value		4474	0.39	---

1	2	3	4		5
Made-up articles wholly or chiefly of cotton, n.e.s.	Value		9142	0.80	---
Readymade garments	Value		83726	7.37	---
Coin manufactures	Value		2242	0.20	---
Jute manufactures incl. twist and year	Lekh.T.		33374	2.94	2.9
Carpets, millmade	Value		3040	0.27	0.15
Footwear	Mill. pair	7.4	3115	0.27	
Leather and leather manufactures, other than footwear	Value	---	42191	3.31	
Pearls, precious and semi-precious stones	Value	---	106276	9.36	
Carpets, hand-made	Value	---	22672	2.00	
Jewellery	Value	---	6566	0.58	
Metal manufactures	Value	---	18091	1.59	
Iron and steel	Value	---	6194	0.55	
Machinery and transport equipment	Value	---	53719	4.73	
Mineral fuels	Value	---	21409	1.88	
Chemicals and	Value	---	36454	3.21	
Rubber and rubber manufactures	Value	---	6965	0.61	
Travel goods	Value	---	2980	0.26	
Sport goods	Value	---	1842	0.16	
Grand Total	**Value**		**1135897**	**100.00**	

Source : DGCI&S, Calcutta.

TABLE V-a : INDIA'S PRINCIPAL IMPORTS

Val : Rs. Lakh

Major Product Group	Unit of Quantity	1984-85 Qty.	Valule	% shares in Value
Wheat	OOOT	360.0	8521	0.52
Rice	OOOT	184.4	4982	0.30
Milk and cream	OOOT	184.4	4982	0.58
Crude rubber	OOOT	49.5	6710	0.41
Pulp and waste paper	OOOT	308.4	13710	0.83
Fertilizers. crude	OOOT	1225.0	10619	0.64
Sulphur and unroasted	OOOT	561.5	10930	0.66
Metalliferrous ores	Value	----	11201	0.68
Mineral fuels. lubricants etc.	Mill.T	19.1	516119	31.81
Fixed vegetable oils	OOOT	1176.4	82775	5.02
Organic chemicals	Value	----	35816	2.17
Inorganic chemicals	Value	----	37047	2.25
Medicinal and Pharmaceutical products	Value	----	12696	0.77
Artificial resins, plastic materials. etc.	Value	----	16434	1.00
Fertilizers manufactured	OOOT	2956.4	67156	4.07

(Figures in brackets show percentage to total imports)

TABLE VI : INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE REGION/CONTRY WISE

Val : Rs. Lakhs

Region/Country	1983-84		1984-85	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
E.C.M.			**194672** **(17.14)**	**407091** **(24.69)**
Belgium			18138	77887
France			20181	34672
Germany			45528	126230
Italy			20229	27664
Netherland			18020	33931
United Kingdom			66213	100240
Other West Europe			**25617** **(2.26)**	**59042** **(3.58)**
Switzerland			11697	16145
Sweden			3604	13613
ESCAP			**233211** **(21.53)**	**360379** **(21.86)**
Australia			14674	18521
Iran			13400	49798
Japan			104927	120134
Malaysia			6894	54845
Singapore			18431	53629
Rest of Asia and Oceania			**96427**	**328624**
Bahrein Is.			5043	25946
Iraq			4283	66582
Kuwait			11459	28582
Saudi Arabia			24323	124794
United Arab Emirates			26629	39482

1	2	3	4	5
Africa	**37104** **(3.76)**	**42176** **(2.68)**	**36126** **(3.18)**	**40090** **(2.43)**
Egypt Arab Reg.	11608	1557	10402	978
Ghana	714	1931	2036	2482
Kenya	1677	1129	2822	532
Nigeria	3992	53	3577	72
Tanzania Rep.	1966	2967	1592	3784
Zaire Rep.	70	6439	151	6527
Zambia	1555	11011	1021	5691
North America	**148648** **(15.07)**	**213325** **(13.53)**	**188517** **(16.60)**	**204474** **(12.40)**
Canada	9177	34239	13343	49297
U.S.A.	139471	179086	175174	155177
South America	**745** **(0.08)**	**35069** **(2.22)**	**646** **(0.06)**	**36341** **(2.20)**
Brazil	124	28030	141	28926
East Europe	**160962** **(16.32)**	**296397** **(12.46)**	**296228** **(17.28)**	**298851** **(12.67)**
Czechoslovakia	6073	5356	6200	5699
German De. Re.	6262	6435	6755	6567
Poland	7407	5116	9366	5379
Rumania	6463	8046	6375	11009
USSR	130530	165858	163462	173991
Grand Total	**986530** **(100.0)**	**157695** **(100.0)**	**1135897** **(100.0)**	**164885** **(100.0)**

Note : Figures within brackets indicate percentage share to total.

Source : DGCI&S, Calcutta.

TABLE VII : INDICES OF QUANTITY AND UNIT VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS AND NET TERMS OF TRADE OF INDIA
(Base 1968-69=100)

Year	Quantum Index		Unit Value Index		Net terms of trade
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	
1970-71	106	87	106	100	106
1971-72	107	105	108	93	116
1972-73	120	99	120	97	124
1973-74	125	114	146	138	106
1974-75	133	100	183	239	77
1975-76	147	99	197	280	70
1976-77	174	99	210	272	77
1977-78	168	130	236	249	95
1978-79	180	140	234	260	90
1979-80	199	135	236	360	66
1980-81	238	191	207	354	58
1981-82	198	194	288	377	76
1982-83	192	196	279	380	74
1983-84	196	193	282	375	76

Source : *Economic Survey 1984-85, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.*

References

Archaelogical Survey of India : Report 1902.

The early commerce of Babylon with India : Journal of Royal Asiatic Society 1898.

Jayachandra Vidyalankar: *Bhartiya Itihas ki Rūprekha*, Allahabad 1933.

Ramashankar Tripathi : *History of Ancient India* 1942.

Vasudeo Sharan Agrawal : *Trade & Commerce in Pāṇini*, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society Vol. 14, pp. 11-12.

Prananath Vidyalankar : *Kautilya's Arthashastra* (1923 Translation)

Radhakumud Mukerjee : *The History of Indian Shipping* (1912)

Mazumdar : *Corporate Life in Ancient India.*

Nandlal Dey : *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Medieval India*. London 1927.

Journal of the Greater India Society (1942).

P.R.Ramachandra Rao: *Decay of Indian Industires* (1942)

Chandra Gupta Vedalankar: *Brihattar Bharat* (1939)

Radhakamal Mukerjee : *Economic History of India* (Journal of the H.P. Historical Society Vol.16)

Oxfords Imperial Gazetter of India (1909)

Mazumdar, Roy Chowdhary & Datta: *Advanced History of India* (London 1949)

Brajnarayan: *Indian Economic Life: Past & Present 2.*

Rangaswamy Aiyar: *Aspect of Ancient Indian Economic Thought* 193

Macrindal: *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*

Macrindal: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenese & Arian* (1906)

Gadial Industrial Evolution in India. 192.

12

ARTHAŚĀSTRA, RHETORICS AND POETICS

Dr. Radhavallabh Tripathi

Rhetorics is one of the branches of knowledge which is closely related to language and philosophy. Poetics of Alaṅkāraśāstra has to depend on rhetorics so far as it deals with language and the theories of word and meaning. The *Arthaśāstra*, although does not deal with the themes of Rhetorics and Poetics directly, but it does provide some missing links for the reconstruction of the History of Rhetorics and Poetics in India. The treatment of the various issues related to Rhetorics in some of the systems of Philosophy, particularly *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṁsā* is very well known. It has been discussed by several authors writing on the theories of Word and Meaning, or the authors dealing with the History of Sanskrit Poetics. But these authors have overlooked the contribution of Kauṭilya to Rhetorics, perhaps under the impression that his *magnum opus* i.e. the *Arthaśāstra*, basically deals with Polity, and hence it has nothing to do with the issues related to art, literature or *belles lettress*. Kauṭilya however, provides valuable information on the development of the art of writing during his times, and qualities of good writing and the blemishes or shortcomings in a script. These have been discussed in the following chapters in *AS*.

Lekhasampad (II. 10.6-12)

Lekhadoṣa (II. 10.57-62)

Even in the discussion on the aims of a document, Kauṭilya encompasses some of the themes of Rhetorics and Poetics. But

these aims present a very general view and are applicable to any discipline. Kauṭilya enumerates thirteen aims of a document. They are:

निन्दा प्रशंसा पृच्छा च तथाख्यानमथार्थना।
प्रत्याख्यानमुपालम्भः प्रतिषेधोऽथ चोदना॥
सान्त्वमभ्यवपत्तिश्च भर्त्सनानुनयौ तथा।
एतेष्वर्थाः प्रवर्तन्ते त्रयोदशसु लेखजाः॥

(*Artha.*, 2.10.23-24)

The above thirteen purposes prescribed by K. for a document or a written message to be sent by a king to another are of general nature, and may be required by any Śāstra. They are also described in *Bṛhaddevatā* and *Nirukta*. Kangle rightly says:

"One or the other of these is bound to be present in any communication from one person to another, whether it is oral or written. Any carefull student of written communication could easily prepare the list for himself."

(*The Arthaśāstra, Part III, A Study,* Kangle, 1985, p. 89)

Out of these thirteen purposes of a document, we find that six are repeated as *kāvyalakṣaṇas* in Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. They are– *ākhyāna, pṛcchā, arthanā, pratiṣedha, praśaṁśā* and *anunaya*. *Arthanā* has been named by Bharata as *Yācanā* and *praśaṁsā* and *anunaya* as *guṇakīrtana* and *priyokti* respectively (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XVI).

But then, such topics of general nature and treated in the *Arthaśāstra* as well as in other Śāstra they do not confirm the influence of the one over the other Śāstra.

Similar is the concept of *tantrayukti*. The concept of *tantrayukti* comprises the motifa or methods to be adopted in any decipline. There are 32 *tantrayuktis* defined by K. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* also discusses the *tantrayukti*, with slight difference in names and definitions. Some of these *tantrayuktis* have been adopted as alaṁkāras in Poetics. *Saṁśaya*, for example, is a *kāvyalakṣaṇa* in Bharata and an alaṁkāra treated by Mammaṭa and other ācāryas. The definitions of *samuccaya* as a *tantrayukti* and as an alaṁkāra are the same. *Vyākhyāna* has a semblance with the *atiśāyokti* of the *ālaṅkārikas*, whereas *Nidarśanā* as *Tantrayukti* comes very near to the concept of Upamā as an Alaṁkāra K. defines *Vyākhyāna* as अतिशयेन वर्णना व्याख्यानम् (*Artha.*, 15.1.43). The example cited for this is विगृहीतो हि ज्यायसा हस्तिना पादयुद्धमिवाभ्युपैति –which is an example of *Utprekṣā* according

to the rhetoricians. *Upamāna* has been defined by K. as दृष्टेनादृष्टस्य साधनमुपमानम् -(*Artha.*, 15.1.27). This is *Upamā* ipso facto. So is the case with *arthāpatti*.

In the same way, there are obvious similarities in the treatment of some other concepts. Take the concept of *adhikārin* for example. Every Śāstra in our tradition generally begins with the question as to who is the proper student of that Śāstra. K. has enumerated three types of Rājaputras. They are- *Buddhimān, Āhārya buddhi* and *durbuddhi*. बुद्धिमाना हार्य बुद्धिर्दुर्बुद्धिरिति पुत्रविशेषाः---(*Artha.*, 2.1.17).

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* has discussed the types of the śiṣya. He has retained the first two types only, i.e. *Buddhimān* and *Āhāryabuddhi*.

Similar is the case with the theory of *Aucitya* (Propriety). K. says that a letter or document should be prepared after considering the propriety on several scores.

Having taken into consideration in (every) matter, the caste, the family, the position, age and learning, the profession, property and character, also, the place and time and connections by marriage, he should compose the document in conformity with the person addressed. (*Artha.*, 2.10, trans. R.P. Kangle, pt. ii. p. 108)

Kṣemendra in his exposition of the theory of *Aucitya* has accepted similar grounds for the propriety.

Stein opines that K. is endebted to the tradition of Alaṅkāraśāstra for his treatment of *lekhaguṇas* and *lekhadoṣas*. However, we are not aware of any work on rhetorics written prior to K. from which he might borrow these concepts. In all probability he might have derived such ideas from the Vedic literature or from the oral traditions. Kangle rightly remarks:

> "It may be pointed out, however, that no extant work on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* mentions that sixfold *lekhasampat*, though some of the excellences described here are recognised as *guṇas* since early times" (Kangle, 1965, p. 89).

K. has described three qualities of a document in his treatment of *lekhasampat*. (excellences of writing). The constitutions of *lekhasampat* are- arrangement of subject matter, connection, completeness, sweetness, exaltedness and lucidity. (अर्थक्रमः, सम्बन्धः, परिपूर्णता, माधुर्यमौदार्य स्पष्टत्वमिति लेखसम्पत्-*Artha.*, 2.10.6).

Out of these six excellences of writing, the first two, i.e. the arrangement of subject-matter (अर्थक्रम) and connection

(सम्बन्ध) are the outcome of poetic blemishes like *kramabhaṅga* and *avidhayavimarś* - The third one. i.e. *Paripūrṇatā* has been described by K. as "the absence of deficiency or excess of matter. words and letters. description in detail of the matter by means of reasons. citations and illustrations. and expressiveness of words" (अर्थपदाक्षराणामन्यूनानतिरिक्तता, हेतूदाहरणदृष्टान्तैरर्थोपवर्णना-श्रान्तपदतेति परिपूर्णता –*Artha*., 2.10.10; Kangle's Trans. Vol. II, p. 106). This completeness or *paripūrṇatā* in K. in fact incorporates the very concept of literature or *Sāhitya* itself Kuntaka the author of *Vakroktijīvita* has defined *Sāhitya* by using K.'s terminology, viz.

साहित्यमनयोः शोभाशालितां पति काम्पसी।
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः।।

The other components of Paripūrṇatā, i.e. हेतूदाहरण-दृष्टान्तैरर्थोपवर्णना encompass some of the *alaṁkāras*.

Mādhurya and *audārya* have been accepted in the tradition of Sanskrit Poetics as poetic qualities (*Kāvyaguṇa*) K. defines *mādhurya* in the following way:

"The use of words in a charming meaning easily conveyed is sweetness "सुखोपनीतचार्वर्थशब्दाभिधानं माधुर्यम्।" –(*Artha*., 2.10.10). We can compare this definition with the definition of *Mādhurya* as given by Bharatamuni in his treatment of *Kāvyaguṇas*:

बहुशो यच्छ्रुतं वाक्यमुक्तं वापि पुनः पुनः।
नोद्वेजयति यस्माद्धि तन्माधुर्यमिति स्मृतम्।।
(*Nāṭyaśāstra, 16.104*)

Vāmana is known for his emphasis of *guṇas*. He postulated the theory of *Rīti. guṇas* forming the core of *rīti*. Vāmana has given the same definitions of *mādhurya* and *audārya* that K. has given. He appears to have borrowed the definition of Audārya from K. *verbatim*. K. defines *Audārya* as – अग्राम्यशब्दाभिधानमोदामिति (*Artha*., 2.10.11). whereas Vāmana simply says – अग्राम्यत्वमुदारता (*Kavyālaṅkārasūtra*. 3.2.13). The *spaṣṭatā* (lucidity) of K. comes very close to the *arthavyakti* of Bharata. Daṇḍin and Vāmana. K. defines it as employment of well-known words. Vāmana says– अर्थव्यक्तिहेतुत्वमर्थव्यक्तिः (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti. 5.1.14*).

K. has described five *lekhadoṣas*. They are – dimness. contradiction. repetition. incorrect use of a word and confusion (अकान्तिर्व्याघातः पुनरुक्तमपशब्दः सम्लवश्चेति –*Artha*.. 2.10.57). Of these *Vyāghāta* corresponds to the *virodhadoṣa* in Alaṅkāraśāstra.

and *Apaśabda* skin to *cyutasaṃskṛti*. The first and the last of the *lekhadoṣas* in K. are related to kelligraphy. A document should not be illegible.

thus K.'s concern for language and the art of writing is evidenced from his treatment of *lekhārtha, lekhasampat, lekhaguṇa* and *lekhadoṣa*, and this treatment can appropriately be corelated with the development of Rhetorics and Poetics in our country.

13
धर्मशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र : विधीय व्याख्या

डॉ. हरिहर नाथ त्रिपाठी

धर्मसूत्रोत्तर काल में वैदिक वचनों के आधार पर तत्कालीन सामाजिक समस्याओं का उचित एवं व्यावहारिक समाधान न मिलने पर स्मृतियों ने यह रिक्तता पूर्ण की। इस प्रकार जीवन के समग्र सामाजिक व्यवहार में स्मृतियाँ वेद की स्थानापन्न बनीं जिनमें वैदिक आधार के साथ उस काल की परम्पराओं, व्यवहार आचार एवं सदाचार का समावेश हुआ। फलतः धर्मशास्त्रों में व्यवहार (Practice) और आदर्श का समन्वय हुआ। यह कहना तो कठिन है कि राज्य धर्मशास्त्रों को संविधान की तरह मानने के लिए बाध्य था, लेकिन इतना तो स्पष्ट है कि वे न्यायिक प्रशासन के आधार थे। व्यवहार में उनका किस मात्रा में उपयोग हो रहा था - यह भूगर्भशास्त्रीय प्रमाणों पर नहीं सिद्ध किया जा सकता, लेकिन निबन्धों, टीकाओं एवं सामान्य ऐतिहासिक सामग्रियों से सिद्ध होता है कि वे जीवन के व्यवहार से अन्यतम रूप से सम्बद्ध हो गए थे। लेकिन हेनरी मेन का यह सिद्धान्त कि धर्मशास्त्र अपने युग के सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक स्थिति के व्यवहार के स्थान पर आदर्श का चित्रण मात्र करते हैं[1] - आज नहीं माना जा सकता।

धर्मशास्त्रों में मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, बृहस्पति एवं नारद स्मृतियाँ महत्वपूर्ण हैं। इन पर देश, काल एवं परिस्थितियों का भरपूर प्रभाव पड़ा है। मनुस्मृति में सीमित क्षेत्र की राजनीति (Small Scale Polity), ग्रामीण अर्थ-व्यवस्था एवं सामन्तवादी युग के प्रारम्भ का रूप पाया जाता है जिसमें विभिन्न समुदायों, संगठनों एवं सम्प्रदायों के मूलाधिकार निजी विधि पर स्वीकृत हैं। इनकी आन्तरिक स्थिति में हस्तक्षेप करने वाली संस्था के स्थान पर राज्य निर्णायक के रूप में रहा है धर्मशास्त्र लिखित या अलिखित धार्मिक विधि (Sacred Law) की प्रभुता स्थापित करते हैं। मनु

स्मृति में व्यवहार (Civil) एवं व्यापारिक विधि (Commercial Law) को अपराधविधि (Penal Law) से अलग नहीं किया गया। बृहस्पति, नारद एवं कात्यायन में इसी प्रकार का प्रयास किया गया है। विभिन्न स्मृतियों के मूलभूत आधार एक हैं, किन्तु देश, काल एवं परिस्थिति की सापेक्षता से सामान्य मतभेद भी मिल जाता है। मनु ने सदाचार एवं "आत्मप्रिय" को विधि का स्रोत मानकर न्यायपालिका में विवेक एवं व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व का महत्त्व स्वीकार किया। इस स्थिति का विकास याज्ञवल्क्य में तर्क, न्याय और हेतु स्वीकार करने से और अधिक हो जाता है। इसी आधार पर कहा जाता है कि याज्ञवल्क्य मनु की अपेक्षा कौटिल्य से अधिक प्रभावित हैं। जहां तक व्यवहार एवं अपराध विधि (Civil and Criminal Law) के पृथक्करण, स्थानीय आचार, परम्परा और प्रथा के महत्व आदि का प्रश्न है, आंशिक रूप में यह सत्य माना जा सकता है किन्तु मूलतः दोनों विचारक एक हैं। ब्राह्मणों के सामाजिक स्थान, राजा की विधि परवशता, "राजशासन" पर नियन्त्रण, अर्थशास्त्र पर धर्मशास्त्र की प्रभुता आदि में याज्ञवल्क्य मनु से भिन्न नहीं है।

धर्मसूत्रोत्तर अर्थशास्त्रों एवं धर्मशास्त्र काल में लौकिक विषयों के संचालन का सर्वांगीण संगठन होने लगता है। ग्राम से लेकर केन्द्र तक न्यायालयों की स्थापना व्यवस्थित होती है। विवाद के विषयों की सूची प्रस्तुत की गई है। न्यायिक प्रक्रिया की व्यवस्था हुई। अर्थशास्त्र के अतिरिक्त धर्मशास्त्र सम्प्रदाय में मनु ने राजधर्म एवं याज्ञवल्क्य ने व्यवहार के स्वतंत्र अध्याय लिखे। धार्मिक विधि, राज्य-विधि, सदाचार, परम्परा आदि का नए ढंग से समन्वय हुआ। व्यक्ति राष्ट्रीय न्यायालय और अपने वर्गीय न्यायालय दोनों से सम्बद्ध था। अतएव न्यायपालिका का भारत में इस समय व्यापक रूप में संगठन हुआ। वर्गीय न्यायालयों में उनकी प्रक्रिया, निर्णय के आधार, कार्यान्वयन आदि की व्यवस्था इस प्रकार हुई कि वे राष्ट्र की विधि के साथ सम्बन्ध स्वीकार कर उससे विरुद्ध नहीं जा सके। लेकिन कुछ सम्प्रदायों, स्त्रियों, दास, अन्त्यज नास्तिक, राजकर्मचारी आदि के अधिकारों पर प्रतिबन्ध बना रहा। अपराध एवं दण्ड संहिता की विस्तृत, व्यापक और न्यायालय से सम्बद्ध सूची सामने आती है। इसका व्यापक रूप अर्थशास्त्र में मिलता है। इस काल की इन समग्र विशेषताओं में यह भाव सर्वथा सुरक्षित था कि राजा अपने को विधि निर्माता न समझ कर वह उसका संरक्षक ही बना रहे।

अर्थशास्त्र में उद्धृत उशना के मत से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि धर्मसूत्रों के साथ ही धार्मिक-विधि (Sacred Law) पर व्यवहार विधि (Secular Law) की उच्चता या व्यावहारिकता का प्रयास किया जा रहा था।[2] अर्थशास्त्र की परिभाषा जिस रूप में की गयी है उसमें राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक सिद्धान्त, जनप्रशासन, विदेशनीति, युद्धविद्या, व्यवहारविधि (Civil Law) और सामाजिक संगठन का समावेश किया जाता है। अर्थशास्त्र व्यावहारिक शास्त्र होने से वैदिक वचनों का विस्तारमात्र नहीं

है, इसमें व्यक्ति, समाज एवं परिस्थितियों का प्रयोग विवेक के आधार पर किया गया। अर्थशास्त्र में कहीं भी किसी धर्मशास्त्र के उद्धरण न होने से स्पष्ट है कि कौटिल्य ने परम्परा का "अन्धप्रवाह" स्वीकार नहीं किया और उनका उद्देश्य सकारात्मकविधि (Positive Law) विकसित करना था। वे राजनीतिशास्त्र के सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष के स्थान पर उसके व्यावहारिक पक्ष पर बल देते हैं। अतएव "अर्थ" को जीवन का आधार माना और दण्डनीति की परिभाषा पर भौतिक शक्तियों का प्रभाव स्वीकार किया। इस प्रकार अर्थशास्त्र का संक्षिप्त रूप हुआ "जन उपलब्धियों के लिए सरकार का विज्ञान।"[3] लेकिन जन उपलब्धियों में वैदिक समाज के ढांचे का आधार अस्वीकार नहीं किया गया। इसी ढांचे की रक्षा राजतन्त्र और राज्य से होने के कारण राजशासन का महत्व विधि के स्रोत के रूप में महत्वपूर्ण हो जाता है किन्तु राजा का विवेक सम्बन्धी अधिकार (Discretionery Power) सदाचार, सामाजिक विधि आदि के द्वारा सीमित है।

अर्थशास्त्र में व्यवहारविधि (Secular Law) की सम्प्रभुता का प्रतिपादन किया गया है। धर्म और उस पर आधारित पारम्परिक नैतिकता राज्यशक्ति के साधन बने। उनका प्रयोग राज्य वैदिक सामाजिक संगठन, जिसमें अर्थ काम का समन्वय एवं व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व-विकास के साथ सामाजिक संस्थाओं का उचित मूल्यांकन था, की सुरक्षा में करने लगा। धर्म का मूल अर्थ (धर्मस्यमूलमर्थः) होने से समाज के भौतिक मूल्यों का प्राधान्य अनिवार्य था। इस युग की आर्थिक व्यवस्था में सामन्तवादी भूमि-व्यवस्था और पूंजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था का बीजारोपण हो रहा था। इसका प्रभाव धर्म एवं उसके संस्कारों पर पड़ा और वे उपयोगितावादी आधार पर आने लगे। बौद्धक्रान्ति के बावजूद वर्णव्यवस्था की पुनः स्थापना का कारण यह भी था कि उसमें इस आवश्यकता का उचित समन्वय था। इस युग में वर्ण व्यवस्था का रूप विस्तृत हुआ और सामाजिक सम्बन्धों में अवैदिक जातियों (विदेशी यवन एवं स्वदेशी आटविक), प्रजातियों को नागरिक अधिकार दिए गए। इनका प्रभाव न्यायिक प्रशासन, आर्थिक नियोजन, राज्य के सप्तांग गठन और उसके कल्याणकारी रूप पर पड़ा। अर्थशास्त्र में विभिन्न विभागों की नियुक्तियों में वैदिकों की प्राथमिकता तो स्वीकार की गई किन्तु उसे मनुस्मृति के समान पुरोहितों एवं ब्राह्मण तक ही सीमित नहीं किया गया।[4] विभिन्न विभागों के संगठन में कौटिल्य ने जो योग्यताएं दी हैं उनमें व्यक्ति की समता का महत्त्व स्वीकार कर पारस्परिक समाज संगठन में सुधार प्रस्तुत किया गया है। उसमें सामान्यतया वर्ण एवं जाति के आधार पर सुविधाएं अस्वीकार कर दी गई हैं। दण्ड का आधार स्तर (Status) के स्थान पर कार्य (action) मानकर क्रूर-दण्ड-व्यवस्था के स्थान पर "यथोचित व्यवस्था" स्वीकार कर इसका प्रभाव न्यायिक प्रशासन में भी व्यक्त किया गया। न्याय में दासों को भी आर्य के समान सुविधाएं मिलीं और माना गया कि आर्य कभी दास हो ही नहीं सकते।[5] विभिन्न आवश्यकताओं के साथ इस नयी सामाजिक

व्यवस्था के संरक्षण के लिए भी राजा की सुरक्षा आवश्यक थी और अर्थशास्त्र ने उसे प्राथमिकता दी।

अर्थशास्त्र तक राज्य के विभिन्न घटकों का पूर्ण विकास हो जाता है किन्तु विशेष बल राजा पर दिया गया है। राज्य की उत्पत्ति का विवरण इस रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है कि राजा के अभाव में मात्स्यन्याय होगा। फलतः इससे राजा अनिवार्य बनाया गया है।[6] अतएव भण्डारकर का यह निष्कर्ष उपयुक्त है कि अर्थशास्त्र में सामाजिक अनुबन्ध नहीं, सरकार का अनुबन्ध है जिसमें राजा एवं उसकी प्रजा का विवेचन है। इतना अवश्य है कि कौटिल्य ने "राजा" के स्थान पर 'स्वामी' शब्द का प्रयोग सप्तांग में कर गणराज्य एवं राजतन्त्र दोनों के लिए यह सिद्धान्त व्यावहारिक बनाया और अन्य सम्प्रदायों का खण्डन कर स्वामी का महत्व बढ़ाया।[7] किन्तु अर्थशास्त्र में राजा प्रजा का सेवक माना गया और उसकी शक्ति का स्रोत जनता रही।[8] अतएव राजा "धर्मप्रवर्तक" होते हुए भी जनता की नैतिकता में न तो हस्तक्षेप करता है न उसका निर्देशन। धर्मसूत्रों के बाद अर्थशास्त्र में सम्प्रभुता का नया रूप आया जिसमें सभी भाग ले रहे थे और साथ ही राज्य जनकल्याण एवं न्यायिक प्रशासन के रूप में अनेक ऐसे कार्य अपने हाथ में ले रहा था जो कभी सामाजिक और आर्थिक संस्थाओं एवं जनजातियों की सभाओं से सम्पन्न हो रहे थे। धर्मशास्त्रों की अपेक्षा अर्थशास्त्र में वर्णव्यवस्था का महत्व भी प्राशासनिक इकाइयों में कम हुआ था, लेकिन अर्थशास्त्र ने भारतीय समाज के बहुलवादी ढांचे में कहीं भी परिवर्तन नहीं किया। व्यक्ति राज्य-विधि नहीं अपने समाज के नियम, व्यवस्था, आचार एवं सदाचारों के ही निर्देशन में कार्य करता था।

धर्मशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र मे परस्पर सम्बन्ध क्या था इस पर मूलतः तीन दृष्टिकोण हैं - 1. अर्थशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र का अंग है; 2. अर्थशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र से स्वतन्त्र वैदिक आधार और समाज के व्यवहार से विकसित हुआ; और 3. अर्थशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र की प्रतिक्रिया है। प्रथम पक्ष का समर्थन विण्टरनित्ज और पी.वी. काणे महोदय करते हैं किन्तु इस पक्ष के पुष्टीकरण में तथ्य के स्थान पर तर्क अधिक है।[9] द्वितीय पक्ष का समर्थन नरेन्द्रनाथ ला तथा रंगस्वामी आयंगर करते हैं। इनके मतों की समीक्षा में काणे ने अर्थशास्त्र को "दृष्टार्थ स्मृति" मानते हुए दोनों के रचना काल की तुलना के आधार पर अपने प्रथमपक्षीय मत की स्थापना की है। तृतीय पक्ष की सम्पुष्टि सर्वप्रथम प्रोफेसर ए.बी. कीथ ने की। जायसवाल ने उसकी रूपरेखा नये ढंग से प्रस्तुत की। बी.ए. सेलेतोर ने उक्त तीनों पक्षों के निष्कर्ष में माना कि प्रथम पक्ष ही उपयुक्त है किन्तु उन्होंने दण्डनीति और अर्थशास्त्र दोनों को एक बनाकर अर्थशास्त्र की अपेक्षा दण्डनीति शब्द की ऐतिहासिक मीमांसा पर आलोचना स्थिर की।[10] वस्तुतः दण्ड, दण्डनीति आदि के स्थान पर अर्थशास्त्र की रूपरेखा, उसमें उद्धृत सम्प्रदायों, विचारकों एवं विचारों की उचित मीमांसा करने

पर द्वितीयपक्ष तथ्यपूर्ण ज्ञात होता है।

अनुशासन पर्व में बृहस्पति और उशना के शास्त्र की चर्चा है।[11] शान्ति पर्व में बृहस्पति, भारद्वाज, गौरशिरस्, काव्य, महेन्द्र, मनु, प्राचेतस् और विशालाक्ष के राजशास्त्र का उल्लेख है।[12] शान्ति पर्व में अन्यत्र शबर के मत का उल्लेख किया गया।[13] अगले अध्याय में राजशास्त्र पर भाष्य की भी सूचना मिलती है।[14] कौटिल्य ने अपने ग्रंथ की प्रतिज्ञा में स्वीकार किया है कि उन्होंने अपने पूर्ववर्ती अर्थशास्त्रियों के विचारों के अध्ययन के बाद अपने अर्थशास्त्र का प्रणयन किया है। उन्होंने अपने पूर्ववर्ती पाँच सम्प्रदायों – मानव, बार्हस्पत्य, औशनस्, पाराशर और आम्भीय की सूचना दी है। कुछ अर्थशास्त्रियों – बाहुदन्ति पुत्र, दीर्घपारायण, घोटकमुख, कणिक, भारद्वाज, कात्यायन, किंजल्क पिशुनपुत्र, भारद्वाज, कौणपदन्त, पाराशर, पिशुन, वातव्याधि और विशालाक्ष का उल्लेख किया है। इनके अतिरिक्त भी राजशास्त्र की सूची उपलब्ध होती है।[15] अर्थशास्त्र में लोकायतिकों, सांख्य और योग का समावेश है किन्तु किसी धर्मशास्त्र का उल्लेख भी नहीं किया गया है। बृहस्पति, मनु आदि धर्मशास्त्र वालों का उल्लेख नहीं है क्योंकि अर्थशास्त्र के बार्हस्पत्य और मानव सम्प्रदाय में 4 विद्याएं नहीं मानी गयी हैं जब कि मनुस्मृति, शुक्रनीति आदि में 4 विद्याएं स्वीकार की गयी है।[16] धर्मशास्त्र में स्वतंत्र राजधर्म मिलता है लेकिन अर्थशास्त्र में धर्म के सम्बन्ध में विचार करने के लिए इस प्रकार का स्वतंत्र कोई अध्याय नहीं है।

राजशास्त्र की उत्पत्ति धर्मशास्त्र से न मानकर सीधे उसका संबंध ब्रह्मा से जोड़ा गया। शान्ति पर्व के अनुसार मात्स्य-न्याय दूर करने के लिए ब्रह्मा ने 1000,000 अध्यायों का नीतिशास्त्र बनाया जिसमें धर्म, अर्थ काम और मोक्ष था। उसे शंकर विशालाक्ष ने संक्षिप्त कर 10,000 अध्यायों में संकलित किया। इसका अध्ययन इन्द्र ने किया और 5000 अध्यायों में संग्रहीत किया।[17] संक्षिप्त करने के क्रम में थोड़ी भिन्नता के साथ यही आख्यान कामसूत्र में भी आया है। नीतिप्रकाशिका के अनुसार ब्रह्मा, महेश्वर, स्कन्द, इन्द्र, प्राचेतस, मनु, बृहस्पति, शुक्र, भारद्वाज वेदव्यास और गौरशिरस् राजशास्त्र के संस्थापक थे।[18] महाभारत में बृहस्पति और भारद्वाज को "राजशास्त्र प्रणेता" कहा गया है। अश्वघोष ने भी इन्हें राजशास्त्र प्रणेता कहा है।[19] स्पष्ट है कि अर्थशास्त्र और धर्मशास्त्र दोनों की सत्ता स्वतंत्र है। अर्थशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र का अंग है या उससे विकसित हुआ है, यह पक्ष मान्य नहीं हो सकता है। भारतीय राजनीति शास्त्र की परम्परा धर्मशास्त्र से कम प्राचीन नहीं है।

आगे चलकर अर्थशास्त्र और धर्मशास्त्र में विरोध का भी रूप सामने आया। उस समय इस सम्बन्ध में साम्प्रदायिक निर्णय किए गए। याज्ञवल्क्य जैसे धर्मशास्त्र प्रणेताओं ने माना कि "**अर्थशास्त्राद्धधर्मशास्त्रं बलवद्**" होता है। इसे मान लिया गया कि जहां अर्थशास्त्र और धर्मशास्त्र में विप्रतिपत्ति हो वहां धर्मशास्त्र के अनुसार

ही कार्य करना चाहिए।[20] लेकिन साथ ही दोनों में समन्वय स्थापित करने का भी प्रयास चलता रहा है। स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ने कहा कि जहां विरोध न हो वहां दोनों शास्त्रों का अनुसरण करना चाहिए - "एतच्चोभयविधशास्त्रानुसारेण तयोर्मिथो विरोधाभावः एव"। धर्मशास्त्र बली क्यों होता है इसका समाधान वीरमित्रोदय जिस रूप में करता है उससे वस्तुस्थिति पर प्रकाश पड़ता है। उसके अनुसार अर्थशास्त्र का सम्बन्ध दृष्ट और धर्मशास्त्र का अदृष्ट और दृष्ट दोनों से है, अतएव धर्मशास्त्र का क्षेत्र व्यापक और महत्वपूर्ण है।

जायसवाल का कहना है कि कौटिल्य व्यवहारशास्त्र को धर्मशास्त्र से अधिक महत्व देते हैं। कुछ लोगों का मत है कि धर्मशास्त्रकारों एवं उनके टीकाकारों ने धर्मशास्त्र को बलवान् माना किन्तु इस मान्यता को अर्थशास्त्रकारों ने अस्वीकार कर दिया। जायसवाल तथा ऐसे विद्वान् "धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम्। विवादार्थे समुत्पन्ने पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः" के आधार पर मानते हैं कि अर्थशास्त्र धर्मशास्त्र से बलवान् है। इस वचन की कुछ बातें ध्यान देने की हैं, 1. इस प्रकार का भाव धर्मशास्त्रों ने भी व्यक्त किया है, 2. कौटिल्य यह व्यवस्था विवाद के निर्णय में मानते है, 3. कौटिल्य इन शब्दों की परिभाषा स्वयं देते हैं और उसमें इस प्रकार के बाध्यबाधक का प्रश्न ही नहीं आता। वस्तुतः कौटिल्य धर्मशास्त्र का महत्व स्वयं स्वीकार करते हैं। उनके अनुसार चरित्र और लोकाचार में जिस अंश का विरोध हो उसमें धर्मशास्त्र के अनुसार निर्णय करना चाहिए।[21]

इस प्रकार के विमर्श से हम इस निष्कर्ष पर आते हैं कि धर्मशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र परस्पर एक विशाल परम्परा के दो अंग है। परम्परा की अविच्छिन्न धारा में कुछ असंगतियां भी आयीं जिनके परस्पर समन्वय का वैदिक आधार रहा और उस आधार पर समन्वय किया गया, दोनों के कार्यक्षेत्र के आधार पर समन्वय किया गया, दोनों के कार्यक्षेत्र का स्पष्ट निर्धारण किया गया है और अन्ततः अर्थशास्त्र ने स्वयं धर्मशास्त्र के अपने सम्बन्धों का स्पष्ट निर्णय प्रस्तुत किया।

सन्दर्भ-सूची

1. एशैण्ट लॉ, पृ. 14; अर्ली लॉ एण्ड कस्टम, पृ. 27.
2. दंडनीतिरेवैका विद्या इत्यौशनसाः। अर्थ., 1.2.6.
   बी.सी. ला ने 41 घुमक्कड़ विद्वानों (Wandering teachers) के विचारों को अर्थशास्त्र का आधार माना है। बी.सी. ला : ए शार्ट एकाउण्ट ऑफ दि वाण्डरिंग टीचर्स एट दि टाइम्स ऑफ बुद्ध; जर्नल एण्ड प्रोसीडिंग्स ऑफ दि ए. सो. बं., 14 नं. 7; एफ.डब्लू. टामस ने बृहस्पति सूत्र और जी. आपर्ट ने शुक्रनीति सार में ऐसे सम्प्रदायों के विचारकों का उल्लेख किया है। स्पष्ट है कि अर्थशास्त्र में युग की विशेषता के प्रभाव में भिक्षुध र्म, अनवसर संन्यास मार्ग आदि की प्रतिक्रिया हुई। इसी में "राजनीतिक शक्ति विस्तार एवं भौतिक उपलब्धियों के प्रयोग का दर्शन" विधि का आदर्श बना।
3. अजितकुमार सेन : स्टडीज इन हिन्दू पोलिटिकल थॉट, पृ. 26.

4. जे. डकन एम. डेरेह : दि राइट टू अर्न इन एशेंट इण्डिया, जर्नल ऑफ दि इकनामिक एण्ड सोशल हिस्ट्री ऑफ दि ओरिएंट, 1957.
5. अर्थशास्त्र, 1.9 पृ. 15.
6. अर्थशास्त्र, 1.13 पृ. 24.
7. भण्डारकर, सम आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ एंशेण्ट इण्डियन पालिटि, पृ. 20.
8. अर्थशास्त्र, 1.19 पृ. 41.
9. पी.वी. काणे : दि हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र, जि. 3, पृ. 7, 840.
10. बी.ए. सेलतोर ; एंशेण्ट इण्डियन पॉलिटिकल थाट एण्ड इंस्टीट्यूशन्स, पृ. 21-23.
11. अनुशासन पर्व, 39.8; मनु. 7.1.
12. शान्ति पर्व, 58.1-3.
13. वही, 102.31-33.
14. वही, 103.44.
15. पी.वी. काणे : बाम्बे युनिवर्सिटी जर्नल, नि. 11, पृ. 73-83. एन.एन. ला : माडर्न रिव्यू, 1918, 1919। स्टडीज इन एंशेण्ट इण्डियन कल्चर, एपेण्डिक्स।
16. अर्थशास्त्र, 1.2.2-6.
17. शान्ति पर्व, 30.79-83.
18. नीतिप्रकाशिका, 1.21-22.
19. बुद्धचरित, 1.46.
20. यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः।
अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत।। वरदाचार्य द्वारा उद्धृत, पृ. 53.
21. संस्थया धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यावहारिकम्।
यस्मिन्नये विरुध्येत धर्मेणार्थं विनिर्णयेत्। अर्थशास्त्र, 3.1.56.

14
गुप्तचरी के सिद्धान्त और कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र

डॉ॰ चन्द्रकान्त शुक्ल

कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र में अन्य राजनीति विषयों के साथ-साथ गुप्तचर पर भी विस्तार से विवेचन हुआ है। आचार्य कौटिल्य ने किसी भी सरकार के सुचारु-संचालन के लिए गुप्तचरों को आवश्यक तथा अत्याज्य माना है। कौटिल्य के अनुसार राजा गुप्तचरों की नियुक्ति के द्वारा अपनी दृष्टि का विस्तार करता है-**"चारेण चक्षुः"**।[1]

यद्यपि कौटिल्य ने गूढ़-पुरूषों को 'गुप्तचर' तथा राजदूतों को 'प्रकाशचर' कहते हुए राजदूतों को भी गुप्तचरो की कोटि में रखा है, परन्तु यहाँ केवल गूढ़-पुरुषों पर ही विचार किया गया है। यह सत्य है कि राजदूत प्रकट रूप से गुप्तचरी नहीं करते हैं, परन्तु यह बात उससे भी अधिक सत्य है कि आज भी राजदूत प्रच्छन्न रूप से गुप्तचरी करते हैं अथवा गुप्तचरो में सहायक होते है। विभिन्न देशों में स्थित राजदूत या दूतावास के अन्य अधिकारी समय-समय पर गुप्तचरी करते हुए पकड़े गए गये हैं और इस दोष के कारण उन्हें उनके देश में वापस भेजा गया है। कौटिल्य के अनुसार राजदूत प्रकाश-चर होने के साथ-साथ वे अपने गुप्तचरों के संवादों का भी संग्रह करते हैं[2] और उन्हीं दूतों के द्वारा जानकारी प्राप्त करके राजा राज्य का संचालन करते हैं- "दूतमूखा वै राजानः"।[3]

गुप्तचर का लक्षण और उनका स्वरूप

आचार्य कौटिल्य ने अपने अर्थशास्त्र में सर्वत्र गुप्तचरों के विभिन्न भेदों का वर्णन किया है और उनके स्वरूप का प्रतिपादन किया है, परन्तु उन्होंने गुप्तचर के सामान्य स्वरूप पर विस्तार से विवेचन नहीं किया है। फिर भी अर्थशास्त्र के

अध्ययन से यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि गुप्तचर प्रच्छन्न रूप से प्रजावर्ग के मनोभावों को पता करते हैं। वे मन्त्री आदि विभिन्न राजसेवकों की राज्य-भक्ति का भी ज्ञान प्राप्त करते हैं तथा अन्य राज्य के राजाओं की शासन-पद्धति और उनके कोष-बल तथा सैन्य-बल आदि का पता करते हैं। गुप्तचरों के स्वरूप का प्रतिपादन करते हुए कहा गया है- "ते ग्रामाणामध्यक्षार्णा च शौचाशौचं विद्युः"[4]

यद्यपि अर्थशास्त्र में किसी एक स्थान पर स्पष्ट रूप से गुप्तचरी का लक्षण नहीं किया गया है, परन्तु शुक्रनीति में इसका लक्षण करते हुए कहा गया है–

"शत्रुप्रजामृतयवृत्तविज्ञातुं कुशलाश्च ये।
ते गूढचराः कर्तव्याः यथार्थश्रुतबोधकाः।"[5]

इसी तरह कामन्दक में भी गुप्तचर के स्वरूप का विवेचन करते हुए कहा गया है–

"तर्केङ्गितज्ञः स्मृतिमान्मृदुर्लघुपरिक्रमः।
क्लेशायाससहोदक्षश्चरः स्यात्प्रतिपत्तिमान्।।"[6]

गुप्तचरों का वर्गीकरण और उनका कार्य

अर्थशास्त्र के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट होता है कि सर्वप्रथम दो प्रकार के गुप्तचर होते हैं–स्व-राज्य में नियुक्त और पर-राज्य में नियुक्त। स्वराज्य में नियुक्त गुप्तचर अपने राज्य की प्रजा तथा राजकीय कर्मचारियों के शौचाशौच के विषय में राजा को सूचित करते हैं। ये गुप्तचर प्रजावर्ग तथा कर्मचारी-वर्ग के शौचाशौच की परीक्षा के लिए विविध प्रकार के गुप्त तथा कूटनीतिक उपाय भी करते हैं। परराज्य में नियुक्त गुप्तचर उस राज्य की शासन-प्रणाली से अपने राजा को अवगत कराते हैं तथा वे दूसरे राज्य के प्रजावर्ग एवं कर्मचारी-वर्ग को वहां के राजा के विरुद्ध भड़काने का भी प्रयत्न करते हैं। इन दोनों प्रकार के गुप्तचरों में स्वराज्य में नियुक्त गुप्तचर का कार्य ही अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण माना गया है, क्योंकि कौटिल्य के अनुसार किसी भी राज्य का सुचारु रूप से संचालन करने में बाह्य-कोप से भी अधिक आभ्यन्तर-कोप से बचना चाहिए - "राज्ञः आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यो वा कोप इति। अरिभयादाभ्वन्तरः कोपो बाह्यकोपात्पापीयान्।"[7]

अर्थशास्त्र के अनुसार स्वराज्य तथा परराज्य में नियुक्त इन गुप्तचरों को दो भेदों में बांटा जाता है - स्थायी गुप्तचर और भ्रमणशील गुप्तचर।

स्थायी गुप्तचरों को अर्थशास्त्र में 'संस्था' गुप्तचर कहा गया है। वे एक स्थान पर स्थित रहते हुए राजा द्वारा धन और मान से पूजित होकर अमात्य आदि राजोपजीवियों की परीक्षा करते रहते हैं–

"पूजिताश्चार्थमानाभ्यां राज्ञा राजोपसेविनाम्।
जानीयुः शौचमित्येताः पञ्च संस्थाः प्रकीर्तिताः।।"[8]

संस्था गुप्तचर के अंतर्गत पांच प्रकार के गुप्तचर आते हैं - (1) कापटिक,

(2) उदास्थित, (3) गृहपतिक, (4) वैदेहक और (5) तापस।

(1) **कापटिक गुप्तचर :** दूसरों के रहस्य को जानने में निपुण, प्रगल्भ और छात्रवेषधारी गुप्तचर को 'कापटिक' कहा जाता है। उसे नियुक्त करने के समय महामात्य उसे प्रचुर धन तथा सम्मान दे और यह कहे कि 'सभी विषयों में राजा को तथा मुझे प्रमाण मानकर तुम जहां कहीं और जिस किसी अमात्य या अधिकारी में कोई दोष देखो तो तुरन्त उसकी सूचना हमे दो'।[9]

(2) **उदास्थित गुप्तचर :** बुद्धिमान्, शुद्धहृदय और संन्यासी-वेषधारी गुप्तचर को 'उदास्थित' कहा जाता है। उदास्थित गुप्तचर बहुत अधिक धन लेकर अनेक शिष्यों के साथ जाकर एक स्थान पर रह जाए और वहां कृषिकर्म, पशुपालन या अन्य कोई व्यापार करे। इस प्रकार के व्यापार से जो लाभ प्राप्त हो उससे वह बौद्ध, जैन आदि संन्यासियों का आदर-सत्कार करे और धीरे-धीरे उन्हें अपने विश्वास में लेकर उनसे गुप्तचरी करवाये। उन संन्यासियों में जो प्रमुख हों, वे अपनी जमात के अन्य संन्यासियों को अपने अधीन में रखें।[10]

(3) **गृहपतिक गुप्तचर :** निर्धन, किन्तु बुद्धिमान् और हृदय का शुद्ध किसान 'गृहपतिक' गुप्तचर कहलाता है। वह उदास्थित गुप्तचर की तरह ही नियत स्थान पर रहता हुआ किसानों को अपने वश में रखने का कार्य करता है।[11]

(4) **वैदेहक गुप्तचर :** गृहपतिक गुप्तचर की तरह ही निर्धन, किन्तु बुद्धिमान् और राज्यभक्तियुक्त व्यापारी 'वैदेहक' गुप्तचर कहलाता है। वह वाणिज्य-व्यवसाय में रहता हुआ अन्य व्यापारियों को अपने वश में रखता है।[12]

(5) **तापस गुप्तचर :** बाल मुड़ाये या जटा धारण किये हुए यदि कोई व्यक्ति अपनी जीविका के लिए राज्य का कार्य करता है तो उसे 'तापस' गुप्तचर कहा जाता है। वह किसी भी स्थान में रहता हुआ लोगों को दिखाकर महीने में एक-दो बार साग आदि किसी चीज को खाये, लेकिन छिप कर खूब भोजन करता रहे। उसके अनेक शिष्य घूम-घूम कर गुप्तचरी करें और प्रजावर्ग में इस बात का प्रचार करें कि ये सिद्ध-व्यक्ति किसी भी व्यक्ति के भूत-भविष्यत् की बातें बताने में समर्थ हैं। वह सिद्ध-व्यक्ति अपने पास आने वाले के विषय में पहले से ही अपने शिष्यों के माध्यम से सारी बातें जानकर रखे और तब उसके भूत-भविष्यत् के विषय में बताये।[13]

कौटिल्य ने अध्यक्ष-प्रचार नामक द्वितीय अधिकरण में यह बताया है कि गृहपतिक, वैदेहक और तापस गुप्तचर समाहर्ता के अधीन रहते हैं। दुर्ग, जनपद, खान, वन आदि की आय एकत्रित करने वाले अधिकारी को समाहर्ता कहते हैं। वह वस्तुतः सभी प्रकार राजस्व का लेखा-जोखा रखता है। वह गृहपतिक, वैदेहक और तापस गुप्तचरों का प्रधान होता है, अतः प्रकारान्तर से वह भी गुप्तचर माना जाएगा।

गृहपतिक गुप्तचर समाहर्ता के द्वारा जिन ग्रामों की देख-रेख के लिए नियुक्त

किया गया हो, वह उन ग्रामों की क्षेत्र संख्या, गृह संख्या और परिवार संख्या की जानकारी प्राप्त कर ले। गृहपतिक को इसकी भी जानकारी रखनी चाहिए कि उस ग्राम में कौन व्यक्ति दूसरी जगह का है और उस ग्राम के कितने व्यक्ति बाहर रह रहे हैं तथा किन-किन कार्यों में लगे हुए हैं? उसे सभी व्यक्तियों के कार्यकलापों की जानकारी रहनी चाहिए। उस ग्राम में कौन-कौन कुलटा स्त्रियां तथा नर्तकियां हैं तथा कौन-कौन धूर्त तथा ठग वहां रहते हैं, इसका भी ज्ञान गृहपतिक को होना चाहिए। उसे शत्रुओं के गुप्तचरों आदि का भी पता लगाते रहना चाहिए।[14]

इसी तरह समाहर्ता के द्वारा नियुक्त वैदेहक गुप्तचर विभिन्न प्रकार की व्यापारिक वस्तुओं के मूल्य का लेखा-जोखा रखता है। उसे इन सारी बातों की जानकारी रहनी चाहिए कि बाजार में बाहर से कितनी वस्तुएं आई और उनकी कीमत क्या रही तथा उन पर उचित कर राजकीय-कोष में जमा हुआ या नहीं? उसे यह भी मालूम होना चाहिए कि बाहर कितनी वस्तुएं गई और उनकी कीमत क्या रही तथा उनका कर राजकीय कोष में जमा हुआ या नहीं? बाजार में स्थान के भाड़े आदि का ज्ञान भी उसे ही रखना पड़ता है।[15]

इसी तरह समाहर्ता के द्वारा नियुक्त तापस गुप्तचर कृषक, गोरक्षक, वैश्य तथा गोप आदि अधिकारियों के शौचाशौच की जानकारी प्राप्त करता है। वह ग्रामों में स्थित सार्वजनिक स्थलों में आने-जाने वाले लोगों के क्रिया-कलापों पर भी नजर रखता है।[16]

इस प्रकार उद्योग-परायण होकर समाहर्ता जनपद की भलाई सोचे। उसके द्वारा नियुक्त गुप्तचर सभी कार्यों का पर्यवेक्षण करे। उन संस्था नाम के गुप्तचरों पर भी दृष्टि रखने के लिए उन्हीं के समान अन्य संस्था की भी स्थापना करे–

"समाहर्ता जनपदं चिन्तयेदेवमुत्थितः।
चिन्तयेयुश्च संस्थास्ताः संस्थाश्चान्याः स्वयोनयः।।"[17]

उपर्युक्त पांच प्रकार के गुप्तचर एक निश्चित स्थान पर रहते हुए गुप्तचरी करते हैं, अतः इन्हें संस्था कहा जाता है।

जो गुप्तचर एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान पर घूमते हुए गुप्तचरी करते हैं, उन्हें भ्रमणशील गुप्तचर कहते हैं। इन्हें ही कौटिल्य ने 'संचार' गुप्तचर कहा है। कौटिल्य ने मुख्यतः चार प्रकार के संचार गुप्तचरों का उल्लेख किया है- (1) सत्ती, (2) तीक्ष्ण, (3) रसद और (4) परिव्राजिका।

(1) **सत्री गुप्तचर** : जो गुप्तचर सामुद्रिक विद्या, ज्योतिष, व्याकरण, पडङ्गशास्त्र, वशीकरण तथा अन्तर्धान-विद्या, इन्द्रजाल, आश्रमधर्म, शकुन विद्या, कामशास्त्र आदि का जानकार हो, उसे 'सत्री' गुप्तचर कहा जाता है।[18]

सत्री गुप्तचर के वर्णन से यह ज्ञात होता है कि जो व्यक्ति अनेक प्रकार की विद्याओं का जानकार होता है, वही सत्री गुप्तचर हो सकता है। कौटिल्य ने अनेकशः सत्री गुप्तचरों तथा उनके कार्यों का उल्लेख किया है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि

सत्री गुप्तचर ही सभी गुप्तचरों में श्रेष्ठ हैं। वस्तुतः, ये अन्य गुप्तचरों की अपेक्षा ज्ञान में अग्रणी होते हैं, अतः इन्हें महत्त्वपूर्ण मानना उचित ही है।

(2) **तीक्ष्ण गुप्तचर** : जो अपने शरीर की भी चिन्ता नहीं करते हुए पैसे के लोभ से गांवों और नगरों में अपना शारीरिक प्रदर्शन करते हुए हाथी, बाघ, सर्प आदि हिंसक जन्तुओं से भी लड़ते हैं, उन्हें 'तीक्ष्ण' गुप्तचर कहा जाता है।[19]

(3) **रसद गुप्तचर** : जो अपने भाई-बन्धु आदि स्वजनों पर भी स्नेह नहीं रखते हैं और क्रूर तथा आलसी होते हैं, उन्हें 'रसद' गुप्तचर कहा जाता है।[20]

यह रसद गुप्तचर पाचक, मांस पकाने वाले, स्नान कराने वाले, देह दबाने वाले, बिछावन बिछाने वाले, बाल बनाने वाले, अलंकार पहनाने वाले, जल भरने वाले, कुब्ज, वामन, किरात, मूक, बधिर, मूर्ख, नट, आदि के वेष में रहकर मंत्रियों आदि के क्रिया-कलापों की गुप्त सूचना राजा तक पहुंचाते हैं।[21]

(4) **परिव्राजिका गुप्तचर** : जीविका के लिए लालायित दरिद्र, ढीठ और विधवा ब्राह्मणी यदि रनिवास में सत्कार पाकर अमात्यों तथा अन्य अधिकारियों के घरों में भी आने-जाने लगे तो उसे ही 'परिव्राजिका' गुप्तचर कहते हैं।[22]

इन परिव्राजिका गुप्तचरों को भी कौटिल्य ने महत्त्वपूर्ण माना है। तीक्ष्ण, रसद आदि भी गुप्त वृत्त इन परिव्राजिका गुप्तचरों को दें और फिर वे उन गुप्त बातों को संस्था गुप्तचर तक पहुंचा दें। इन बातों को सांकेतिक लिपि में लिखा जाना चाहिए, जिसे संस्था तक के कर्मचारी भी नहीं जान सकें।[23]

यदि किसी मंत्री या अधिकारी के यहां भिक्षुकी का प्रवेश निषिद्ध हो तो वैसी स्थिति में द्वारपालों से ही गुप्तचरी-कार्य कराया जाना चाहिए और वे विभिन्न प्रकार का बहाना बनाकर राजा तक संदेश को प्रेषित करें।[24]

अर्थशास्त्र में कहा गया है कि सत्री आदि गुप्तचर यद्यपि राजा के सम्बन्धी नहीं होते हैं, परन्तु राजा ही उनका और उनके परिवार का भरण-पोषण करता है।[25]

राजा स्वयं संचार-गुप्तचरों की नियुक्ति करके उन्हें मंत्री, पुरोहित, सेनापति, युवराज, दौवारिक, अन्तःपुर के अधिकारी, कराध्यक्ष, समाहर्ता, राजभण्डार के अधिकारी, फौजदारी कचहरी के न्यायाधीश, कोतवाल, पौर व्यावहारिक, खान तथा कल-कारखानों के पर्यवेक्षक, अमात्य-सभा के अध्यक्ष, दण्डपाल, दुर्गपाल, राज्य की सीमा के रक्षक और वनरक्षक-अधिकारी इन अठारह अधिकारियों के ऊपर लगा दे ओर उनके द्वारा इन अधिकारियों की राज्यभक्ति की परीक्षा करे।[26]

उपर्युक्त अठारह अधिकारियों के यहां तीक्ष्ण नामक गुप्तचर उनके छत्र, झारी, पंखा, खड़ाऊं, आसन, पालकी आदि सवारी तथा अश्वादि वाहन जुटाने की नौकरी करके उनके बाहरी समाचारों का संग्रह करके सत्री-गुप्तचरों को दें और सत्री उन्हें संस्था नामक गुप्तचरों तक पहुंचा दें।[27]

उपर्युक्त अनेक गुप्तचरों के अतिरिक्त कौटिल्य ने मुंडा (भिक्षुणी), वृषली

(शूद्रा, धोबिन, भंगिन आदि), कार्तान्तिक, मौहूर्त्तिक, नैमित्तिक आदि गुप्तचरों का उल्लेख किया है, परन्तु वस्तुतः उक्त अनेक गुप्तचरों के अन्तर्गत ही समाहित हो जाते हैं।

आचार्य कौटिल्य कहते हैं कि राजा अनेक गुप्तचरों के द्वारा किसी बात का पता करे और उनमें से यदि तीन गुप्तचर एक प्रकार की बात कहें, तभी उसे सत्य समझे - "त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः"।[28]

संस्था तथा संचार नामक गुप्तचरों के अतिरिक्त कौटिल्य ने उभयवेतन भोगी गुप्तचरों का भी उल्लेख किया है। यद्यपि संस्था और संचार नामक गुप्तचरों का वर्णन करते समय कौटिल्य ने मुख्यतः स्वराज्य को ही ध्यान में रखा है, परन्तु उभयवेतन-भोगी गुप्तचर केवल परराज्य से ही सम्बन्धित हैं।

उभयवेतन-भोगी गुप्तचर की नियुक्ति के विषय में कहा गया है कि वे शत्रु के राज्य से भी वेतन लेकर उन शत्रुओं की सेवा करते हुए वहां ही रहें। इस तरह वे अनायास ही वहां से समाचार भेज सकेंगे।[29]

उभयवेतन गुप्तचर के विषय में विवेचन करते हुए कौटिल्य ने लिखा है कि राजा उभयवेतन गुप्तचर की नियुक्ति उसके स्त्री-पुत्र को अपने अधीन रखकर करे। इन उभयवेतन गुप्तचरों की शुद्धि की परीक्षा उभयवेतन गुप्तचर ही करें-

"गृहीतपुत्रदारांश्च कुर्यादुभयवेतनम्।
तांश्चारिप्रहितान्विद्यात्तेषां शौचं च तद्विधैः।।"[30]

उभयवेतन-भोगी गुप्तचर के स्त्री-पुत्रों का राजा के द्वारा अपने अधीन रखने से दो प्रकार के अभीष्ट की सिद्धि होगी– प्रथम बात तो यह होगी कि ऐसी स्थिति में वह गुप्तचर अपने स्त्री-पुत्रों के मोहवश कभी भी शत्रु-पक्ष में शामिल नहीं हो पायेगा और दूसरी बात यह होगी कि उस गुप्तचर के विदेश में रहने पर उसके स्त्री-पुत्रों को उचित सुरक्षा भी प्राप्त हो जाएगी।

आचार्य कौटिल्य ने शत्रुपक्ष में अपने गुप्तचरों के रखने की विविध विधियों का निरूपण किया है।[31] कोई भी राजा अपने अति-विश्वस्त व्यक्ति को उस पर राजद्रोह का दोषारोपण करके राज्य से बहिष्कृत कर दे। वही व्यक्ति शत्रु-राज्य में जाकर वहां का नागरिक बन जाए और फिर अपने पूर्व राज्य के लिए गुप्तचरी का कार्य करे। कौटिल्य ने इस प्रकार के विविध उपायों का निरूपण विस्तार से किया है।

कौटिल्य ने शत्रुपक्ष के गुप्तचरों की निगरानी के लिए भी योग्य गुप्तचरों को नियुक्त करने के विषय में लिखा है। जो गुप्तचर कितना भी प्रलोभन देने पर शत्रु के वश में नहीं आने वाले हों, उन्हें सारा कार्य ठीक ढंग से समझाकर शत्रु के गुप्तचरों का पता लगाने के लिए उन्हें अपने राज्य की सीमा पर लगा देना चाहिए–

"अकृत्यान्कृत्यपक्षीयैर्दर्शितान्कार्यहेतुभिः।
परापसर्पज्ञानार्थं मुख्यानन्तेषु वासयेत्।।"[32]

इस प्रकार हम पाते हैं कि आचार्य कौटिल्य ने अपने अर्थशास्त्र में विस्तार से गुप्तचरों की नियुक्ति, उनके प्रकार तथा उनके कार्य आदि का विवेचन किया है। यद्यपि कौटिल्य से पूर्व वेदों, रामायण, महाभारत तथा कुछ पुराणों में भी गुप्तचरों के विषय में चर्चा प्राप्त होती है, परन्तु अर्थशास्त्र में ही सर्वप्रथम हमें गुप्तचर के विषय में सविस्तार विवेचन प्राप्त होता है। गुप्तचरों को संस्था-गुप्तचर तथा संचार-गुप्तचर के भेद से विभक्त करना कौटिल्य की मौलिकता है।

आचार्य कौटिल्य ने किसी भी राज्य के सुदृढ़ प्रशासन के लिए गुप्तचर-व्यवस्था को एक आवश्यक और अपरिहार्य अंग के रूप में स्वीकार किया है जो आज भी उसी रूप में प्रासंगिक बना हुआ है। आधुनिक राज्यों के लिए जो गुप्तचरी की मान्यताएं हमें देखने में प्राप्त होती हैं उनमें काल-भेद और तन्त्रभेद के कारण भले ही कुछ अन्तर आ जाए, परन्तु वे आज भी उपयोगी हैं। आज सभी देश अपने सिद्धान्तानुसार गुप्तचरी का कार्य करते हैं और जो देश गुप्तचरी में जितना ही आगे रहता है, उसके विकास की गति उतनी ही तीव्र होती है। रूस के विकास में के.जी.बी. तथा अमेरिका के विकास में सी.आई.ए. आदि संस्थाएं इसके ज्वलंत उदाहरण है। हमारे देश की जासूसी संस्था 'रॉ' को निश्चित रूप से आधुनिक ज्ञान-विज्ञान से युक्त होना चाहिए, परन्तु उसे प्राचीन भारतीय राजनीति-शास्त्र की गुप्तचर-व्यवस्था का भी ज्ञान होना चाहिए तथा उस ज्ञान को आज के अनुरूप परिवर्तित कर लेना चाहिए।

भारतवर्ष में यद्यपि जासूसी की अनेक संस्थाएं हैं, परन्तु उनमें कापटिक, उदास्थित, गृहपतिक, वैदेहक, तापस, तीक्ष्ण, रसद तथा परिव्राजिका श्रेणी के गुप्तचरों का अभाव-सा है। आचार्य कौटिल्य ने गुप्तचरों की इन श्रेणियों का विभाजन बहुत सोच-विचार कर किया है और ये आभ्यन्तर कोप से राज्य की रक्षा करने में अत्यधिक समर्थ हैं। यदि इस प्रकार के गुप्तचर हमारे यहां रहते तो सम्भव था अनेक प्रकार की बड़ी-बड़ी राजनीतिक हत्याएं हमारे यहां नहीं होने पातीं और हमें अनेक प्रकार के 'आपरेशनों' के लिए बाध्य नहीं होना पड़ता।

भारतवर्ष में सत्ती- श्रेणी के गुप्तचर तो अवश्य हैं, परन्तु उनके शौचाशौच की परीक्षा ठीक ढंग से नहीं हो पाती है। आज हमें ऐसे गुप्तचरों की आवश्यकता है जो केवल नौकरी करने के लिए गुप्तचर न हों, बल्कि वे वास्तविक रूप से देश की आन्तरिक तथा बाह्य रक्षा के लिए समर्पित हों। कौटिल्य ने यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि गुप्तचरी में केवल उपाय पर ही ध्यान नहीं देना चाहिए, बल्कि अपाय को भी सामने रखना चाहिए। इस बात की भी जानकारी अवश्य प्राप्त करनी चाहिए कि अन्य कौन देश किस रूप में हमारे यहां गुप्तचरों को भेजते हैं और उनके कौन लोग यहां सहायक हैं? आचार्य कौटिल्य के अनुसार सुपरीक्षित गुप्तचरों को राज्य की सीमा पर नियुक्त किया जाना चाहिए, परन्तु ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि हमारा देश ऐसा कर पाने में समर्थ नहीं हो पा रहा हैं यह तथ्य है कि जब-जब

देश की सीमा को 'सील' कर दिया गया है, तब-तब किसी प्रकार का आतंक नहीं हुआ है, अन्यथा हमेशा आतंकवाद अपना सर उठाये रहता है।

निष्कर्षतः, यह कहा जा सकता है कि आचार्य कौटिल्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही सर्वप्रथम हमें अपनी आन्तरिक स्थिति को व्यवस्थित करने के लिए गुप्तचरों को सुगठित करना चाहिए और उसके बाद ही बाह्य शत्रुओं पर ध्यान केन्द्रित किया जाना चाहिए। देश के जो भी गुप्तचर हों उनपर भी गुप्तचर का लगाया जाना आवश्यक है और किसी एक ही गुप्तचर की सूचना पर किसी प्रकार का निर्णय नहीं ले लेना चाहिए। गुप्तचरी की विभिन्न संस्थाएं अपने-अपने ढंग से सूचनाएं एकत्र करें और उसके बाद ही कोई उच्च संस्था उन पर विचार करके अन्तिम निर्णय ले, तभी देश का और देशवासियों का कल्याण सम्भव है। यह हमारे देश के लिए परम सौभाग्य का विषय है कि हमारे यहां कौटिल्य जैसे निष्पक्ष चिन्तक विद्यमान रहे हैं और तब भी हमारे देश की गुप्तचर-व्यवस्था की यह स्थिति है, जो निःसन्देह चिन्ताजनक और निन्दनीय है।

सन्दर्भ-सूची

1. अर्थशास्त्र, 1.7, पृ. 19.
2. वही, 1.16.2, पृ. 53.
3. वही, 1.16, पृ. 50.
4. अर्थशास्त्र, 4.4, पृ. 370.
5. शुक्र., 2.189.
6. कामन्दक., 12.25.
7. अर्थशास्त्र, 8.2, पृ. 573.
8. वही, 1.11.1, पृ. 32.
9. वही, 1.11, पृ. 30.
10. वही, 1.11, पृ. 30.
11. वही, 1.11, पृ. 30.
12. वही, 1.11, पृ. 31.
13. वही, 1.11, पृ. 31.
14. वही, 2.35, पृ. 253.
15. वही, 2.35, पृ. 254.
16. वही, 2.35, पृ. 255.
17. वही, 2.35.1, पृ. 255.
18. वही, 1.12, पृ. 32.
19. वही, 1.12, पृ. 33.
20. वही, 1.12, पृ. 33.
21. वही, 1.12, पृ. 33.
22. वही, 1.12, पृ. 33.
23. वही, 1.12, पृ. 34.

24. वही, 1.12, पृ. 34.
25. वही, 1.12, पृ. 32.
26. वही, 1.12, पृ. 33.
27. वही, 1.12, पृ. 34.
28. वही, 1.12, पृ. 35.
29. वही, 1.12, पृ. 35.
30. वही, 1.12.1, पृ. 36.
31. वही, 13.3, पृ. 719-726.
32. वही, 1.12, पृ. 37.

15

अर्थशास्त्र में चौर्यवृत्ति व इसके निराकरण

श्री वेद प्रकाश खन्ना

(1) भले ही अर्थशास्त्र के लेखक को चणक के पुत्र होने के कारण चाणक्य अथवा कुटिल राजनीतिज्ञ होने के कारण कौटिल्य के नाम से जाना जाता हो किन्तु अब तक के शोध के आधार पर यह लगभग निश्चित ही है कि ये दोनो नाम अर्थशास्त्र के लेखक के पितृ-प्रदत्त नाम न होकर वंश नाम या उपाधि नाम ही हैं। कौटिल्य का वास्तविक पितृ-प्रदत्त नाम विष्णुगुप्त था जिसका उल्लेख आचार्य कामन्दक के ग्रन्थ "नीतिसार" जिसकी रचना लगभग 400 ई. में हुई थी, में मिलता है। "नीतिसार" के प्रमाण से यह सुनिश्चित ही है कि अर्थशास्त्र की रचना आचार्य कौटिल्य ने ही की थी।

(2) कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र के उद्‌घाटक के रूप में डॉ. राम शास्त्री का नाम भी अमर हो गया है। सन् 1905 में उन्होंने मैसूर राज्य से प्राप्त कर इस ग्रन्थ के कुछ अंशों को पहली बार प्रकाशित किया था व इसके बाद सन् 1909 में पुनः सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ को ही उपलब्ध कर प्रकाशित कराया। सन् 1914 ई. में प्रकाशित विन्सेंट स्मिथ के ग्रन्थ (Early History of India) में इसकी प्रमाणिकता की पुष्टि के बाद सन् 1923 में डॉ. जौली तथा सन् 1928 में डॉ. कीथ की संदेह वर्षा से गुजरकर अंत में डॉ. जायसवाल एवं श्री जयदेव विद्यालंकार प्रभृति विद्वानों ने ग्रंथों में इसकी प्रमाणिकता की पुष्टि कर यह निर्विवाद रूप से माना कि नंद वंश के नाशक व मौर्य वंश के संस्थापक कौटिल्य, महान् सम्राट् चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य (325-273 ई.पू.) के राजमंत्री थे व "अर्थशास्त्र" उन्हीं की महान कृति है।

(3) संस्कृत साहित्य के इतिहास में अर्थशास्त्र एक महान प्रभावोत्पादक ग्रन्थ है। समयांतर के अनेक साहित्यकारों की कृतियों पर इसका प्रभाव पड़ा है। महाकवि कालिदास के रघुवंश, कुमारसम्भव, अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम् इससे प्रभावित रहे हैं। इसी प्रकार याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति (150 ई.), वात्स्यायन का ''कामसूत्र'' (300 ई.) व विष्णु शर्मा रचित प्रसिद्ध पंचतंत्र तथा विशाखदत्त रचित नाटक ''मुद्राराक्षस'' पर अर्थशास्त्र का स्पष्ट प्रभाव देखने को मिलता है। आचार्य दण्डी ने तो कौटिल्य की दण्ड नीति के अध्ययन करने पर जोर दिया है।

(4) अर्थशास्त्र की अपनी परिभाषा के अनुसार अर्थशास्त्र उस शास्त्र को कहते हैं जिसमें राज्य की प्राप्ति और उसके पालन के उपायों का वर्णन किया गया है। कौटिल्य ने अपने ग्रन्थ में पूर्ववर्ती लगभग 18-19 अर्थशास्त्रियों/ आचार्यों का उल्लेख किया है जिनसे विचारों को ग्रहण कर उन्होंने अपने अद्भुत ग्रन्थ का निर्माण किया। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि चाणक्य का अर्थशास्त्र भारत का सर्वप्रथम अर्थशास्त्र नही है अपितु इससे पूर्व भी पिशुनाचार्य, उद्धव, बृहस्पत, शनस्, भारद्वाज आदि के अनेक शास्त्र थे जिनका उल्लेख इसी अर्थशास्त्र में स्थान-स्थान पर आया है। आज ये उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। सामान्य अनुमानों के अनुसार इस ग्रन्थ का रचना काल ईसा पूर्व तीसरी शताब्दी रहा होगा।

(5) यों तो आज अर्थशास्त्र के अनेक संस्करण उपलब्ध हैं व उनके टीकाकार भी अनेक हैं, परन्तु मैने कौटिल्य के जिस अर्थशास्त्र को अपने इस अध्ययन का आधार बनाया है वह महामना पं. त. गणपति शास्त्री के संस्करण पर आधारित है। स्व. शास्त्री जी ने अर्थशास्त्र का गम्भीर अध्ययन करके उसके मूल ग्रन्थ को विद्या व प्रसंग के अनुसार अलग-अलग वर्गों, वाक्यों और वाक्य-खण्डों में विभाजित किया है। उनके अनुसार इसमें 15 अधिकरण हैं - 1. विनयाधिकारिक, 2. अध्यक्षप्रचार, 3. धर्मस्थीय, 4. कण्टक-शोधन, 5. योगवृत, 6. मंडुलयोनि, 7. षाड्गुण्य, 8. व्यसना-धिकारिक, 9. अभियास्यत्कर्म, 10. सांग्रामिक, 11. वृतसंघ, 12. आबलीयस, 13. दुर्गलम्भोपाय, 14. औपनिषदिक तथा 15. तंत्रयुक्ति है। इसके चौथे अधिकरण - ''कण्टक-शोधन'' के अध्याय (प्रकरण 81) में, जिसका शीर्षक ''शंका रूप कर्माभिष्टः'' अर्थात् संदिग्ध पुरुषों की पहचान, चोरी के माल की पहचान और चोर की पहचान है, में युगों-युगों का अनुभव संजोकर रखा गया है। अर्थशास्त्र के दो सहस्र वर्ष बाद भी जब हम आज चोर की पहचान व उसे ढूँढ़ने की बात सोचते हैं तो उन सभी बातों को अनुभव की कसौटी पर खरा पाते हैं जिनका समायोजन कौटिल्य ने अपने इस जन-प्रसिद्ध ग्रन्थ में किया है।

(6) कौटिल्य के अनुसार इन व्यक्तियों पर चोर, डाकू, हत्यारा तथा प्रजा-पीड़क होने की शंका की जा सकती है।

1. जिनके बाप-दादाओं की सम्पत्ति, खेती-बाड़ी, आदि धीरे-धीरे क्षीण होती जा रही हो।
2. जिनको खाने और खर्च के लिए पर्याप्त वेतन न मिलता हो।
3. जो लोग अपना देश, जाति, गोत्र, नाम और अपने अध्यवसाय का ठीक-ठाक पता न देते हों या बताने में बहाने बतावें।
4. जो लोग जीविका के लिए छिपे तौर पर कार्य करते हो।
5. जिन्हें मद्य, मांस, इत्र-फुलेल, बढ़िया वस्त्र और बनाव-शृंगार का अधिक शौक हो।
6. बार-बार विदेश जाने वालें हों किन्तु उनके गंतव्य-स्थान का कुछ पता न हो।
7. जो एकान्त जंगलों या सघन बगीचों में कुसमय जाते हों।
8. जो अपने शरीर के घावों की मरहम-पट्टी छिपकर कराते हों।
9. जो सदा ही घर में घुसे रहते हों।
10. जो किसी पुरुष को सामने आते देखकर अचानक लौट पड़ते हों।
11. जो स्त्रियों के प्रति अति-आसक्त हों।
12. दूसरे के घर का हाल-चाल, स्त्री, द्रव्य आदि के संबंध में बार-बार पूछने वाले।
13. चोरी, कुकर्मों, अस्त्र-शस्त्रों तथा इस प्रकार के दूसरे साधनों को जानने वाले।
14. जो आधी रात में छिपकर दीवारों की छाया में चुपचाप चलते हों।
15. जो गहने आदि की शक्ल को बिगाड़कर उनकी अनुचित बिक्री करते हों।
16. शत्रुता रखने वाले।
17. नीच कर्म करने वाले।
18. नीच जाति में उत्पन्न।
19. अपनी असली सूरत को छिपाकर रखने वाले।
20. जो ब्रह्मचारी आदि न होकर ब्रह्मचारियों के वेश में रहते हुए भी नियमों का ठीक-ठाक पालन न करते हों।
21. जिन पर पहले चोरी का अभियोग लग चुका हो।
22. जो अपने बुरे कर्मों के लिए प्रसिद्ध हों।
23. जो नगर के पहरेदारों तथा अन्य राजकीय कर्मचारियों से छिपें और भाग जाए।
24. जो छिपकर एकान्त में बैठते हों।

25. भयभीत, सूखे मुँह, मुरझाए चेहरे और भर्राई आवाज वाले।
26. हाथ में हथियार लेकर चलने वाले पुरुष से डर जाने वाले।

इत्यादि पुरुषों पर यह शंका की जा सकती है कि या तो वह हत्यारा है, या चोर है, या डाकू है, या क्रोधावेश में उसने किसी के ऊपर हथियार उठाया है, अथवा वह प्रजा को कष्ट देने वाला प्रजा-कण्टक है।

(7) दूसरा भाग, जिसका शीर्षक "रूपाभिग्रह" अर्थात् चोरी के माल की पहचान है, में कौटिल्य ने विषय-वस्तु का किस गहराई से चित्रण किया है–

1. यदि असावधानी के कारण कोई वस्तु खो जाए या चोरी चली जाए और खोजने पर जल्दी न मिले तो उस चीज का हुलिया लिखकर उसी चीज के व्यापारी के यहां भेज दी जाए कि इस प्रकार की चीज उसके यहाँ बिकने को आये तो वह ध्यान रखे।
2. यदि ऐसी वस्तुओं के आ जाने पर भी व्यापारी उसकी सूचना हुलिया देनेवाले को न पहुँचाये तो उसे वही दण्ड दिया जाये जो चोरी में सहायता देने वाले को दिया जाता है।
3. यदि उसे इस बात का पता न हो तो उस वस्तु के वापस कर देने पर उसे अपराध से बरी कर दिया जाये।
4. संस्थाध्यक्ष को सूचित किए बिना कोई भी माल न तो गिरवी रखा जाये और न बेचा जाये।

(8) यही नहीं अर्थशास्त्र के लेखक ने चोरी की संपत्ति की विवेचना बावत पूछताछ को आगे बताते हुए लिखा है–

1. यदि कोई खोई वस्तु किसी व्यापारी के यहाँ आ जाए तो उस वस्तु के लाने वाले व्यक्ति से पूछा जाए "तुम्हें यह वस्तु कहाँ से मिली" यदि वह कहे कि मुझे यह बपौती से मिली थी या मैंने इसे अमुक व्यक्ति से लिया है, अथवा मैंने इसे खरीदा या बनवाया है या अभी गिरवी रखने के कारण वस्तु छिपी रही, यह वस्तु मैंने अमुक स्थान पर अमुक समय में खरीदी इसका असली मूल्य यह है, इसके ये लक्षण हैं, ये प्रमाण हैं, आजकल इतनी कीमती है, इस प्रकार उसका ठीक-ठीक वृतांत बता देने पर उसको अपराधी न समझा जाये।
2. यदि वस्तु को लाने वाला व्यक्ति ऐसा कहे कि वह वस्तु मैं अमुक व्यक्ति से मांगकर लाया हूं या किराए पर लाया हूं, या अमुक इसे मेरे पास गिरवी रख गया है, या कुछ वस्तु बनाने के लिए मेरे पास रख गया है, या मेरे पास सुरक्षा के लिए दे गया है, या अमुक व्यक्ति से वेतन के रूप में मैंने इसको पाया है तो उस असली व्यक्ति को बुलाया जाये। यदि वह कहे कि जो कुछ इसने कहा है वह ठीक है तो उस वस्तु को लाने वाले व्यक्ति को छोड़ दिया जाये।

3. यदि वह कहे कि इसने ठीक नहीं कहा है तो वस्तु का लाने वाले व्यक्ति को अदालत में पेश किया जाये। अर्थात् आज भाषा में गिरफ्तार कर चालान अदालत में पेश किया जाये और वह अपराधी वहां इस बात को सिद्ध करे कि यह वस्तु मैंने इसी से ली है। साथ ही उस वस्तु के देने वाले, दिलाने वाले, लिखने वाले, लेने वाले, लिखाने वाले तथा साक्षियों को अदालत में पेश करें। अर्थात् इस झूठ और चोरी में सहयोगियों का भी चालान किया जाये।

यहाँ यह महत्वपूर्ण है कि चाणक्य की राय में अपनी सच्चाई व ईमानदारी सिद्ध करने का भार संदिग्ध या अपराधी पर है, शासन या अभियोजन पक्ष पर नहीं।

(9) अर्थशास्त्र का इसी वस्तु-विषय से जुड़ा हुआ एक अन्य रोचक प्रसंग चोर की पहचान से संबंधित है। "कर्माभिग्रहः" शीर्षक से प्रारम्भ इस अंश में कर्मों से या घटना-स्थल पर पाए गए सूत्रों से चोर की पहचान करने की अचूक एवं अत्यंत सूझबूझ भरी विधि बताई गई है। एक बार पुनः अर्थशास्त्र के लेखक ने चौर्य-वृत्ति के निराकरण में अपनी श्रेष्ठ कला एवं पारखी के गुणों का भरपूर प्रदर्शन किया है। वे लिखते हैं -

1. यदि चोरी हुए घर में चोर पीछे के दरवाजे से घुसे हों या दरवाजे को जोड़ों से अथवा नीचे से तोड़कर घुसे हों, या दीवार में चढ़ने के लिए ईटें निकालकर अथवा खोदकर जगह बनाई हो, या खिड़की तथा रोशनदान तोड़े गए हों, या जहां धन रखा गया हो, ठीक उसी जगह दीवार तथा जमीन खोदी गई हो और मकान के भीतर घुसकर खोदी गई हो और फिर गड्डे भर दिए गए हों तो समझना चाहिए कि इस चोरी में किसी अंदरूनी व्यक्ति का हाथ है।
2. यदि इसके विपरीत लक्षण हों तो बाहरी व्यक्ति की करामात समझना चाहिए और दोनों तरह के लक्षण मिलें तो दोनो तत्वों के द्वारा चोरी की गई समझना चाहिए।

(10) इसके बाद एक और अत्यंत रोचक प्रसंग का उल्लेख कौटिल्य विष्णुगुप्त ने किया है। उनका कहना है कि "आभ्यंतर कृते" अर्थात् चोरी का शक यदि अपने ही किसी नौकर या अंदरूनी व्यक्ति पर ही हो तो निम्न प्रकार घर के भीतर या आसपास के व्यक्तियों से जांच-पड़ताल व पूछताछ की जाये।

1. जो जुआरी, शराबी, कुमार्गी, भ्रष्ट व्यक्तियों तथा चोरों की संगत में रहने वाला हो, दरिद्र कुल की, व्यभिचारिणी स्त्री या व्यभिचारी, दरिद्र सेवक, अत्यंत ऊँघने वाला, सोने वाला, आलसी, मानसिक

कष्टों से दुखी या व्याकुल, उद्विग्न या डरा हुआ अथवा घबराया हुआ, जिसकी आवाज भर्राई हुई हो, चंचल, बकवादी हो, ऊपर चढ़ने योग्य शरीर वाले, रगड़ खाकर फटे हुए वस्त्रधारी, हाथ-पैरों में रगड़ के चिह्नों से युक्त, मिट्टी से भरे केश-नख वाले, या कटे-फटे केश-नखधारी, अच्छी तरह स्नान करके जिसने चंदन आदि या सुगंधित तेल का लेप कर लिया हो, तत्काल अच्छी तरह हाथ-पैर धोए हुए धूल या कीचड़ में जिसके पैरों के निशान मिल जाएं (तुल्य पादपदनिक्षेप) अथवा कीचड़ में घुसने और निकलने के पद-चिह्न के समान पद-चिह्न वाले, जिस पर चोरी गए माल की सी गन्ध आती हो, जो गन्ध माल और मकान मेंथी उसकी गन्ध वाले, तथा मकान में मिले हुए वस्त्रों के टुकड़ों में जो लोग और पसीने की गन्ध थी वैसी गन्ध वाले पुरुष की तलाश करे, जो चोर हो या परस्त्रीगामी हो, उससे भी पूछताछ करें। चोर की तलाश करने के उपरोक्त तरीकों जैसा विस्तृत वर्णन अर्थशास्त्र के अतिरिक्त आज तक कहीं अन्यत्र नहीं मिलता।

(11) यदि चोर बाहरी हो तो उसके संबंध में अर्थशास्त्र ने लिखा है–

"समोपस्थानिकं बाह्यं प्रदेष्टा चोरमार्गणम्।
कुर्यान्नागरिकश्चान्तर्दुर्गे निर्दिष्टहेतुभिः।।"

अर्थात् यदि चोर बाहरी हो तो गोप और स्थानिक की सहायता से प्रदेष्टा उनका पता लगाये। नागरिक भी अपने तरीकों से चोर का पता लगाये।

(12) अर्थशास्त्र के सातवें अध्याय (82 वें प्रकरण) में "आशुमृतकपरीक्षण" अर्थात् हत्या, कत्ल के अपराधों के विवेचना के संबंध में विस्तृत वर्णन के बाद आठवें अध्याय (83 वें प्रकरण) में पुनः "वाक्यकर्मानुयोग" अर्थात् 'जांच और यातना के द्वारा चोरी को अंगीकार कराना' जैसे विषय के प्रतिपादन मे पुनः अत्यंत उपयोगी बातों का समावेश किया गया है। इसमें कुछ निम्नानुसार हैं–

1. चोरी के तीन दिन बाद संदिग्ध व्यक्ति को गिरफ्तार न किया जाये क्योंकि उतने दिन बीत जाने के कारण उससे सही बातें नहीं मालूम हो सकती। किन्तु किसी के पास यदि चोरी के सबूत मिल जाएं तो उसे तीन दिन बाद भी गिरफ्तार किया जा सकता है।
2. जो व्यक्ति साधु पुरुष को चोर बताये उसे चोरी का दण्ड दिया जाए, और वही दण्ड उसे भी दिया जाए जो चोर को छिपाने का प्रयास करें।
3. संदेह में गिरफ्तार हुए व्यक्ति से चोरी करने के उपाय, उसके सलाहकार, सहायक वस्तुएं, चोरी का माल और उसकी मजदूरी के संबंध में विस्तार से पूछताछ की जावे। उससे यह भी पूछा जाए

कि चोरी करते समय मकान के भीतर कौन-कौन गया था, क्या-क्या माल हाथ लगा और किस-किस को कितना-कितना हिस्सा मिला?

4. अब यहां देखें किस मनोवैज्ञानिक तरीके से विषय का विश्लेषण चाणक्य ने किया है–

   जो व्यक्ति चोरी सिद्ध करने वाले उक्त प्रश्नों के संबंध में तो कुछ न कहे बल्कि डर के मारे अंट-शंट बके तो उसको चोर न समझा जाए क्योंकि व्यवहार में ऐसा देखा गया है कि चोर न होते हुए भी चोरों के रास्ते से जाता हुआ, चोर के समान शक्ल, हथियार और माल लिए हुए राहगीर को भी चोर समझ कर गिरफ्तार कर लिया जाता है, इस प्रकार चोरी के माल के पास खड़े निर्दोष व्यक्ति को भी गिरफ्तार होते लोक में देखा गया है।

   उदाहरण के लिए महाभारत के आदि पर्व में आयी कथा में माण्डव्य, चोर न होते हुए भी मार के डर से "मैं चोर हूं" कहते हुए पकड़ा गया था। इसी प्रकार के मामलों में खूब सोच-विचारकर ही अपराधी को दण्ड देना चाहिए।

(14) चौर्यवृत्ति के दण्ड के बारे में चाणक्य ने अर्थशास्त्र में निम्न व्यवस्था की है–

1. छोटे अपराधी, या पहली बार के अपराधी, बालक, वृद्ध, बीमार पागल, उन्मादी, भूखा, प्यासा, तथा अतिभोजन लिए क्षीण, रोगी और निर्बल व्यक्तियों को कोड़े आदि मारकर शारीरिक दण्ड न दिया जाये।
2. जिसका अपराध साबित हो उसी को दण्ड दिया जाये। किन्तु गर्भिणी स्त्रियों, एक माह से कम की प्रसूता को हर्गिज दण्ड न दिया जाये।
3. जो दण्ड पुरुषों के लिए कहे गए हैं, उनका आधा दण्ड स्त्रियों को दिया जाय। अथवा उनको केवल वाग्दण्ड (वाणी से ताड़ना) ही दिया जाये।
4. जो लोग सूचना देकर चोरी करें, किसी वस्तु को छीने, चोरी की हुई वस्तु के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करके काम में लायें चोरी करते या माल ले जाते पकड़े जाएं, खजाना उड़ाकर ले जाएं और हत्या आदि महा-पराध करें उन सबको राजा की आज्ञानुसार एक साथ अलग-अलग या बारी-बारी आजीवन कठिन श्रम का दण्ड दिया जाये।

   चाणक्य ने जिस काल व समाज का चित्रण किया है वह जाति-प्रथा से ओत-प्रोत था परन्तु अपराधों के दण्ड बावत सर्वोच्च जाति को तो दण्ड की व्यवस्था चाणक्य ने की है वह देखने योग्य है–

5. यदि कोई ब्राह्मण चोरी करे तो कोई ताड़न-दण्ड न दिया जाए बल्कि उसके माथे पर कुत्ते का निशान लोहे से दाग दिया जाये ताकि उसकी

> आमदनी और प्रतिष्ठा का पतन हो। यही नहीं पाप करने वाले ब्राह्मण के लिए माथे पर दागने के अलावा भी सजा के लिए मात्र इतना ही विधान था कि राजा पापी ब्राह्मण के माथे पर चिह्न दाग कर समग्र जनता में इस बात की घोषणा कराके उसे देश से निकाल दे या खानों वाले पर्वत में रहने की आज्ञा दे दे।

चौर्यवृत्ति के अपराधों के उपर्युक्त विषय से न केवल तत्कालीन समाज की विद्वत्ता, संवेदनशीलता, बल्कि उसकी व्यवहार कुशलता एवं जाति-व्यवस्था का अच्छा दिग्दर्शन देखने को मिलता है।

16
कौटिल्य - अर्थशास्त्र में प्रतिबिम्बित आयुर्वेदिक तत्त्व

डॉ. पतञ्जलि कुमार भाटिया

सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ से ही मानव दो अभिशापों से ग्रस्त दृग्गोचर होता है, प्रथम-क्षुधा तथा द्वितीय-रोग। इन दोनों की निवृत्ति के लिए आदिमकाल से ही मनुष्य ने प्राकृतिक वस्तुओं की ओर देखना प्रारम्भ किया। उसने प्रकृति की एक-एक वनस्पति का निरीक्षण किया, उसे विश्वास था कि समीप के प्राकृतिक वैभव में ही वह क्षमता निहित है, जिसके द्वारा क्षुधा और व्याधि से मुक्ति मिल सकती है। यही कारण है कि वैदिक ऋचाओं में अनेक औषधियों और वनस्पतियों का उल्लेख मिलता है। वस्तुतः इन्हीं वनस्पतियों के गुण-दोषों का विस्तृत ज्ञान ही आयुर्वेद शास्त्र की उत्पत्ति का एक बहुत बड़ा आधार रहा है। प्राकृतिक वस्तुओं के निरीक्षण के फलस्वरूप ही प्रारम्भ में काष्ठचिकित्सा का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ, जिस का प्राचीन चरकादि ग्रन्थों में बाहुल्य है। चरक में लगभग 500 वनस्पतियों आदि के गुण-दोषों का विवेचन किया गया है। इन गुण-दोषों के विवेचन तथा आयुर्वेद-शास्त्र के मूल में चरककार आदि प्राचीन ऋषियों की यही उदात्त धारणा थी कि सांसारिक मनुष्यों के व्याधिजन्य कष्टों को दूर किया जाए, जैसे कि चरकसंहिता के प्रारम्भ में ही लेखक कहते हैं–

विघ्नभूता यदा रोगाः प्रादुर्भवाः शरीरिणाम्।
तपोपवासाध्ययनब्रह्मचर्य व्रतायुषाम्।।
तदा भूतेष्वनुक्रोशं पुरस्कृत्य महर्षयः।
समेताः पुण्यकर्माणः पार्श्वे हिमवतः शुभे।।
सुखोपविष्टास्ते तत्र पुण्यां चक्रुः कथामिमाम्।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणाम् आरोग्यं मूलमुत्तमम्।

रोगास्तस्यापहर्तारः श्रेयतो जीवितस्य च।।
प्रादुर्भवा मनुष्याणामन्तरायो महानयम्।
व्याधयो हि समुत्पन्नाः सर्वप्राणिभयङ्कराः।। (चरक, सूत्रस्थान)

सुश्रुतसंहिता के प्रारम्भ में भी ऐसा भाव उपलब्ध होता है–

''भगवन्! शरीरमानसागन्तुभिर्व्याधिभिर्विविधवेदनाभिघातोपदुतान् सनाथानाप्यनाथवद् विचेष्टमानान् विक्रोशतश्च मानवानभिसमीक्ष्य मनसि नः पीडा भवति, तेषां सुखैषिणां रोगोपशामार्थम् आत्मनश्च प्राणयात्रार्थ प्रजापतिहेतोरायुर्वेदं श्रोतुमिच्छामः''। (प्रथम अध्याय, सूत्रस्थान)

इस प्रकार भारतीय परम्परानुसार आयुर्वेद शास्त्र की उत्पत्ति मानवमात्र के शारीरिक दुःखों के अपाकरणरूपी प्रयासार्थ हुई तथा ऋषियों ने सभी पदार्थों का सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म विश्लेषण किया। परन्तु यह एक नैसर्गिक नियम है कि किसी भी ज्ञान का सदुपयोग एवं दुरुपयोग रूपी द्विविध उपयोग सम्भव है। जिस प्रकार आइंस्टाइन के अनुसंधान का प्रयोजन केवल यही जानना था कि अणु चरम इकाई है या उसके भी आगे भी खण्ड किये जा सकते हैं। अणु की विघटन-शीलता के ज्ञान के साथ यद्यपि आइंस्टाइन का अनुसन्धान अपने लक्ष्य तक पहुंच जाता है, परन्तु जिस प्रकार कालान्तर में अणु की विघटनशीलता का सदुपयोग परमाणुभट्टी से विद्युत उत्पन्न करने में तथा दुरुपयोग अणुबम जैसे घातक अस्त्रों के निर्माण करने में दिखाई देता है,[1] कुछ उसी प्रकार का व्यवहार आयुर्वेद के साथ भी हुआ है। आयुर्वेद के ज्ञान का जहां कौटिल्य ने सदुपयोग किया, वहां इसका पर्याप्त मात्रा में दुरुपयोग भी किया। तथाहि–

चरक तथा सुश्रुत आदि प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में विषैले पदार्थों तथा विषैले जन्तुओं के काटने से उत्पन्न विष के लक्षण तथा प्रतीकार के उपाय बताए गए हैं, किन्तु कौटिल्य ने राजनैतिक उद्देश्यों की पूर्त्ति के लिए विषवर्गीय पदार्थों के विस्तृत उपयोग निर्दिष्ट किए है, जिनके द्वारा शत्रुओं को पीड़ा पहुंचायी जा सकती है। इनका वर्णन अर्थशास्त्र के 14वें प्रकरण अर्थात् औपनिषदिक अधिकरण में है। वहां परघातप्रयोग अर्थात् शत्रुवधार्थ औषधप्रयोग, प्रलम्भन अर्थात् औषध तथा मन्त्रों के प्रयोग द्वारा क्षुत्प्रतीकार एवं विरूपीकरण द्वारा विष को वञ्चित करने के प्रयोग एवं भैषज्यमन्त्रप्रयोग सविस्तर निर्दिष्ट हैं इन में से कुछ योग निम्न प्रकारेण हैं।

(क) भोजन द्वारा शीघ्र प्राणहरण

चितकबरा मेंढक, कौण्डिन्यक, ककल, पञ्चकुष्ठ तथा शतपदी - इन सबके चूर्ण को भिलावा और बावची के रस में मिला कर खिला दे या इनका धुंआ दें तो शीघ्र मृत्यु होती है। यही बात उच्चिदिंग, कम्बनी कीड़े, कृकलास आदि के लिए भी है। गृहगोलिका, अंधा सांप, कृकणक, पूतिकीट और मोमारिका - इनका

भी चूर्ण भिलावा और बावची के रस में प्राणहर है।[2]

(ख) धूम द्वारा प्राणहरण

शतावरी, कपूर, अगर, कस्तूरी और कंकोल का घिसा हुआ लेप, उच्चिदिंग, कनेर, कटुतुम्बी और मत्स्य के धुएं धतूरा, कोदों, पलाल अथवा धनिया या ढाक के साथ हवा में उड़ाया जाय तो जहां तक यह हवा जाएगी वहां तक लोगों को मार देगी।[3]

(ग) अन्धीकर धूम

पूतिकरंज, पत्रक, हरिताल, मनःशीला, गुञ्जा, लाल कपास और पलाल–इन को यदि स्फोट कांच और गोबर के रस में पीस कर धुआं दिया जाए तो आंखों से लगने पर आंखें अन्धी हो जाएंगी। सर्प निर्मोक, गोबर, घोड़े की लीद और अन्धे सांप का सिर इन को मिलाने से भी अन्धीकर धूम तैयार होता है।[4]

ये दो प्रयोग, यदि वास्तव में प्रभावकारी हैं तो, हमें उस भोपालविषोपेतवातकाण्ड का स्मरण कराती हैं, जहां-जहां तक वह वायु गई वहां-वहां तक अनेक लोगों को अपने प्राणों तथा कइयों को अपनी नेत्रज्योति से वञ्चित होना पड़ा है।

(घ) अन्धीकरण अंजन

सारिका, कपोत, बगुला और बलाका इन की विष्ठा को आक, अक्षि, पीलु और स्नुही में पीसने से अन्धीकरण अंजन तैयार होता है तथा यह पानी को भी विषैला बना देने वाला मिश्रण है।[5]

(ङ) मदनयोग अर्थात् पागल बना देने वाला योग

जौ, शालिधान, मैनफल, चमेली पत्रक, नरमूत्र, प्लक्ष, विदारीमूल, मूक गूलर, धतूरा, कोदों, धनिया और पलाश इन के क्वाथ आदि के योग से यह मदनयोग तैयार होता है।[6]

इसी प्रकार ज्योतिहर, उन्माद, कुष्ठ तथा प्रमेहकारक, विषूचिकाकारक एवं ज्वरकर नाना योग इस प्रकरण में सन्निविष्ट हैं, जिन्हें विस्तारभय के कारण इस लेख में सन्निविष्ट नहीं किया जा रहा है।

इन प्रयोगों में भिन्न-भिन्न वनस्पतियों का तथा पशु-पक्षियों का सहयोग लिया गया है, तथा जब तक इनका प्रायोगिक परीक्षण न किया जाए, तब तक इन की विश्वसनीयता के संदर्भ में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। परन्तु इतना अवश्य है कि चरकसंहिता तथा अन्य आयुर्वेदिक ग्रन्थों में निर्दिष्ट विरुद्ध खान-पान की जानकारी का इस में बहुत बड़ा उपयोग किया गया है तथा तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से अध्ययन करने पर स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है कि जहां चरकसंहितादि ग्रन्थों में इन विषों के प्रतिकार के नाना उपाय निर्दिष्ट हैं वहां अर्थशास्त्र में ये नगण्य ही हैं।

आश्चर्यजनक योगों में क्षुधाहरण तथा रूपविकृतियोग उल्लेखनीय हैं इन का उद्देश्य शत्रुओं को विस्मित कर अभिभूत कर देना है।[7]

(च) क्षुधाहरण योगों में से एक के अनुसार शिरीष, गूलर एवं शमी

इन तीनों के चूर्ण को घृत के साथ मिलाकर खाने से 15 दिन तक भूख नहीं लगेगी।[8]

(छ) **एक अन्य योग के अनुसार कसेरू, कमल तथा गन्ने की जड़, कमल-दण्ड, दूब, दूध, घृत और मांड** – इन सबको एक साथ मिला कर खाने से एक मास तक क्षुधा प्रतीत नहीं होती।[9]

जैसा कि हम पहले ही निर्दिष्ट कर चुके हैं कि प्रायोगिक परीक्षण के अभाव में इनके विषय में निश्चितरूपेण कुछ भी कहना अनुचित है।

(ज) रूपविकृतियोग

किसी व्यक्ति को सात दिन तक मट्ठा और जौ खिला कर सफेद गधे की लीद तथा जौ के साथ पकाये हुए सफेद सरसों के तेल को लगाने या खाने दिया जाए तो उस की शक्ल बदल जाती है।[10]

(झ) श्वेतीकरणयोग

1. समुद्री मेंढक, शंख, सुधा, केला, यवक्षार और मट्ठा – इन सब वस्तुओं का योग भी प्रयोगकर्ता को श्वेतकर देता है।[11]
2. शाक, पारसपीपल, अर्जुन-कीट और सफेद छिपकली – इन सबको एक साथ पीस कर यदि केशों में लगाया जाए तो केश शंख के समान श्वेत हो जाते हैं।[12]
3. मुर्गी, कड़वी तोरई, परवल और शतावरी की जड़ को एक मास तक खाने से शरीर गौरवर्ण हो जाता है।[13]

इन प्रयोगों में क्या घटकों का मिश्रण कुछ रासायनिक परिवर्तनों के कारण त्वचा के वर्ण में कुछ अन्तर ला देते है अथवा यह सब अर्थवाद है – इस विषय में निश्चित कथन तो परीक्षणशाला में प्रयोगानन्तर ही ज्ञात हो सकता है।

अर्थशास्त्र में इसी प्रकार की कुछ अन्य औषधियों तथा मन्त्रों का वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है, जो कि वैज्ञानिकदृष्ट्या तो कपोल-कल्पना की श्रेणी में ही आते हैं परन्तु विश्वासकर्ता तथा मन्त्रसिद्ध व्यक्ति के लिए भले ही वह सत्य हो।

भोजन में विष परीक्षा

राजाओं के शत्रु, मित्रों की अपेक्षा अधिक होते है। ये लोग समीपवर्ती नौकर आदि के द्वारा राजा के खाने-पीने में विष डाल देते हैं। स्त्रियां भी लोभवश अथवा किसी के बहकावे में आकर राजा को विष दे देती हैं। यह विष अन्नपान के अतिरिक्त वस्त्र, माला, आभूषण, शय्या, स्नानजल, अवलेपन आदि के रूप में भी दिया जा सकता है। अतः कौटिल्य के अनुसार राजा के पास सर्वदा विष-परीक्षक वैद्य होने चाहिए जिन्हे अर्थशास्त्र में "जाङ्गली वैद्य" नाम दिया गया है।[14]

भोजन आदि में विषपरीक्षा की जो विधियां निर्दिष्ट की गई हैं - वे प्रायः आयुर्वेद

के शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों से अनुप्राणित हैं। यथा– भोजन यदि विषाक्त है तो अग्नि में उसकी लपट नीली होगी तथा ध्वनि भी होगी एवं यदि पक्षी खाएगें तो विपत्ति में पड़ जाएगें। जैसे कि कौटिल्य लिखते हैं–

"अग्नेर्ज्वालाधूपनीलता शब्दस्फोटनं च विषयुक्तस्य, वयसां विपत्तिश्च। अन्नस्योष्मा मयूरग्रीवाभः, शैत्यमाशु क्लिष्टस्येव वैवर्ण्यं सोदकत्वमाक्लिन्नत्वं च। व्यञ्जनानाम् आशुशुष्कत्वं च क्वाथः श्याम-फेन पटलविच्छिन्नभावो गन्धस्पर्शरसवधश्च। द्रवेषु हीनातिरिक्तच्छायादर्शनं फेनपटलसीमन्तोर्ध्व-राजीदर्शनं च। रसस्य मध्ये नीला राजी, पयसस्ताम्रा, मद्यतोययोः काली – इति विषयुक्तलिङ्गानि।" (अर्थशास्त्र, 1.16.20)

मार्जारमयूरनकुलपृषतोत्सर्गः सर्पान्भक्षयति। शुकः सारिका भृङ्गराजो वा सर्पविषशङ्कायां क्रोशति। क्रौञ्चौ विषाभ्याशे माद्यति, गूलायति, जीव जीवकः म्रियते मत्तकोकिलः, चकोरस्याक्षिणी विरज्येते। (अर्थशास्त्र, 1.21.11)

अब सुश्रुत के विषपरीक्षा प्रकरण से भी इस की तुलना की जा सकती है। तथाहि-

"हुतभुक् तेन चान्नेन भृशं चटचटायते, मयूरकण्ठप्रतिमो जायेत चापि दुःसहः। भिन्नार्चिस्तीक्ष्णधूमश्च नचिराच्चोपशाम्यति। चकोरस्याक्षिवैराग्यं जायते क्षिप्रमेव तु। दृष्ट्वान्नं विषसंसृष्टं म्रियन्ते जीवजीवकः। कोकिलः स्वरवैकृत्यं क्रौञ्चस्तु मदमृच्छति। हृष्येन्मयूर उद्विग्नः क्रोशतः शुकसारिके। हंसः क्ष्वेडति चात्यर्थ भृङ्गराजस्तु कूजति। पृषतो विसृजत्यश्रु विष्ठां मुञ्चति कर्कटः।"

(सुश्रुत, 1.20-33)

इस विषय में अर्थशास्त्र एवं सुश्रुत की समानता द्रष्टव्य है। राजप्रासादों में पशुपक्षी पालने का एक मुख्य प्रयोजन विषपरीक्षा भी था –

"वेश्मनो विभूषार्थं रक्षार्थं चात्मनः सदा।
संनिकृष्टांस्ततः कुर्याद् राज्ञस्तान् मृगपक्षिणः।।" (पूर्वोक्त)

विषदाता की पहचान

कौटिल्य ने अर्थशास्त्र में विष देने वाले व्यक्ति की चेष्टाओं का विस्तृत वर्णन किया है। तदनुसार उसका मुख सूखा तथा विवर्ण हो जाता है, बातचीत करते समय वाणी स्खलित हो जाती है, पसीना आ जाता है, घबराहट के कारण शरीर में कँपकपी आती है तथा मार्ग प्रशस्त होने पर भी बेचैनी के कारण वह बार-बार गिर जाता है। यदि कोई दो व्यक्ति आपस में बात कर रहें तो उसे भय लगता है कि कहीं यह चर्चा उसके विषय में तो नहीं हो रही। अपने कार्यों में और अपने स्थान पर उसका चित्त स्थिर नहीं रहता, वह हर समय हड़बड़ाया सा रहता है। तथाहि- **"विषप्रदस्य तु शुष्कश्यामवक्त्रता वाक्सङ्गः, स्वेदो विजृम्भणं चातिमात्रं वेपथुः, प्रस्खलनं वाक्यविक्षेपणमावेशः, कर्मणि स्वभूपौ चानवस्थानमिति।" (अर्थशास्त्र, 1.16.20)**

कौटिल्यप्रदत्त इस विवरण पर सुश्रुत एवं संग्रह की पूर्ण छाप है। तथाहि-

"इंगितज्ञो मनुष्याणां वाक्चेष्टामुखवैकृतैः। विद्याद्विषस्य दातारमेभिर्लिङ्गैश्च बुद्धिमान्।। न ददात्युत्तरं पृष्टो विवक्षन्मोहमेति च। अपथं बहुसङ्कीर्णं भाषते चापि मूढवत्। स्फोटयत्यङ्गुलीभूमिकस्माद्विलिखेद्धसेत्। वेपथुर्जायते तस्य त्रस्तश्चान्योन्यमीक्षते। क्षामो विवर्णवक्रश्च नखैः किञ्चिच्छिनत्त्यपि। आलभेतासकृद्दीनः करेण च शिरोरुहम्। निर्मियासुरपद्वारैर्वीक्षते च पुनः पुनः।"

(सुश्रुत, 1.25-27)

कौटिल्य ने व्याधिओं को राष्ट्रीय आपत्तियों में गिना हैं।[15] निस्सन्देह प्लेग, हैजा आदि बीमारियां राष्ट्रीय विपत्तियां ही हैं। चरकसंहिता में इन्हें "जनपदप्रध्वंसक" रोग नाम से अभिहित किया गया है। अर्थशास्त्र में इनके प्रतीकार के लिए निम्नलिखित उपाय बताए गए हैं–

1. चिकित्सक औषधियों द्वारा इन बीमारियों का प्रतीकार करें।
2. सिद्ध तथा तापस लोग ऐसे प्रायश्चित्त व पुरश्चरण करें - जिससे व्याधियां शान्त हों।

इसके अतिरिक्त फैलने वाली बीमारियों की रोकथाम के लिए निम्न कृत्य भी किए जाएं–

1. तीर्थों में अभिषेक, 2. महाकच्छवर्धन, 3. श्मशान में गौवों का दोहन, 4. धड़ को जलाना, 5. रात्रि में देवताओं की उपासना।[16]

इनमें कुछ विधियां यथा महाकच्छवर्धन, श्मशान में गौवों का दोहन तथा धड़ को जलाना अस्पष्ट ही है। इन विधियों के समाचरण से रोगोपशमन पर प्रभाव पड़ना बुद्धिगम्य प्रतीत नहीं होता। आज के वैज्ञानिक एवं विश्लेषणात्मक युग में आधुनिक चिकित्सा विधि के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ये कदापि सम्यक् प्रतीत नहीं होतीं। देवताओं की उपासना तथा प्रायश्चित्तादि कृत्य कुछ ऐसी विधियां हैं, जिन का चरकसंहिता में भी उल्लेख है, परन्तु अवशिष्ट अज्ञात हैं। इनसे यही प्रतीत होता है कि चाणक्य के समय में जादू-टोने तथा अभिचारकृत्य प्रभूतमात्रा में सम्पन्न किए जाते थे। यही कारण है कि कौटिल्य सरीखा जागरूक व्यक्तित्व भी उनसे अछूता न रह सका।

आशुमृतकपरीक्षा

कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र में आशुमृतकपरीक्षा अर्थात् मृतक शरीर का परीक्षण कर उस के कारणों का पता करने की भी नाना विधियां सविस्तार निर्दिष्ट हैं। मृतदेह को तैलविशेष से चुपड़ा जाता था तथा न्यायालय में न्यायाधीश को मृत्यु के कारणों का ज्ञान कराने के लिए चिकित्सकों द्वारा शवपरीक्षण किया जाता था। अर्थशास्त्र के 82वें प्रकरण में इस प्रकार का विस्तृत वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है।[17]

उत्तम सन्तान की प्राप्ति

राजपुत्रों से राजा की रक्षा प्रकरण में कौटिल्य ने अत्रिपुत्र के जातीसूत्रीय

अध्याय (चरकसंहिता, शा. अ. 8) का स्पष्ट उल्लेख उद्देश्य के रूप में किया है। चरककार द्वारा इस अध्याय के लिखने का प्रयोजन यही है कि किस प्रकार उत्तम सन्तान की प्राप्ति हो तथाहि–

"ज़िन स्त्री-पुरुषों के शुक्र-शोणित और गर्भाशय निर्दोष हों और जो अच्छी सन्तान चाहते हों - उनके लिए अच्छी सन्तान प्राप्त करने का उपाय बताते है।"

कौटिल्य इसीको निम्न शब्दों में अभिव्यक्त करते हैं–

"तस्माद् ऋतुमत्यां महिष्याम् ऋत्विजश्चरूमैन्द्रबार्हस्पत्यं निर्वपेयुः। आपन्नसत्त्वायां कौमारभृत्यो गर्भमर्मणि प्रजनेन च वियतेत्।"

(अर्थशास्त्र, 1.12.16)

अत्रिपुत्र ने ऋत्विज् द्वारा यज्ञविधान विस्तृतिपूर्वक निर्दिष्ट किया है। उसमें सम्पूर्ण प्रक्रिया स्पष्ट दी गई है। कौटिल्य उपर्युक्त प्रघट्टक में उसी ओर इंगित कर रहे हैं। यह उल्लेखनीय है कि चरककार एवं कौटिल्य - दोनों का उद्देश्य "श्रेयसी प्रजा" की प्राप्ति है। कौटिल्य उसे राजा के सन्दर्भ में देते हैं, तथा चरक सामान्य रूप में।

आयुर्वैदिक ग्रन्थों से शैलीगत समानता

अर्थशास्त्र की भाषा और शैली का चरक से बहुत अधिक मात्रा में साम्य है। जिस प्रकार से चरकसंहिता में भिन्न-भिन्न आचार्यों के मत दिखाकर अन्त में आत्रेय ने अपना मत स्थापित किया है, उसी प्रकार अर्थशास्त्र में भी किया गया है। तथाहि–

रसों की संख्या कितनी है ? इस पर विचार करते हुए चरकसंहिता में भद्रकाप्य, शाकुन्तेय, पूर्णाक्ष, औद्गल्य, हिरण्याक्ष, कुमारशिराः, राजर्षि, निमि, वडिश तथा काङ्कायन के मत प्रदर्शित कर अन्त में आत्रेय ने अपना मत प्रस्तुत किया है, इसी प्रकार अर्थशास्त्र में भी मंत्र-सुरक्षा के विषय में तथा मन्त्रिपरिषत् के गठन के विषय में विभिन्न मत प्रदर्शित कर अन्त में कौटिल्य ने अपना मत प्रदर्शित किया है। उदाहरणार्थ–

1. **मन्त्रभेदो ह्ययोगक्षेमकरो राज्ञः, गुह्यमेको मन्त्रयेतेति भारद्वाजः नैकस्य मन्त्रसिद्धिरस्तीति विशालाक्षः, ... एतन्मन्त्रज्ञानं नैतन्मन्त्ररक्षणमिति पाराशराः, ... नेति पिशुनः, ... नेति कौटिल्यः अनवस्था ह्येषा।"**

   (अर्थशास्त्र, 1.10.14)

2. **"मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडषेति बार्हस्पत्याः, विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः, यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः।" (पूर्वोक्त, 1.10.14)**

तन्त्रयुक्ति

तन्त्रयुक्ति से अभिप्राय है, जिससे शास्त्र स्पष्ट हो। जिस प्रकार सूर्य के कारण कमल वन और प्रदीप से घर प्रकाशमान हो जाता है उसी प्रकार तन्त्रयुक्तियों से शास्त्र का प्रबोधन और प्रकाशन होता है–

यथाम्बुजवनस्यार्कः प्रदीपो वेश्मनो यथा।
प्रबोधनप्रकाशार्थास्तथा तन्त्रस्य युक्तयः।।

(चरक, सि. अ., 12.47)

चरकसंहिता में 36 तन्त्रयुक्तियाँ बताई गईं हैं। कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र में 32 तन्त्रयुक्तियाँ अन्त में गिनवाई गई हैं–

"**तत्र द्वात्रिंषद् युक्तियुक्तम् - अधिकरणम्, विधानम्, योगः, पदार्थः, हेत्वर्थः।** **(पूर्वोक्त, पञ्चदशमधिकरणम्)**

जैसा कि पहले ही निर्दिष्ट किया जा चुका है कि आयुर्वेदसिद्धान्तस्थापक ऋषियों का लक्ष्य "**मा कश्चिद् दुःखभाग्भवेत्**" की उदात्त भावना थी, अतः उस में मानवशरीरदृष्ट्या समुचित सभी अङ्गों तथा तत्सम्बद्ध कष्टों का एवं निवारणोपायों का विस्तृत वर्णन है। परन्तु अर्थशास्त्र का उद्देश्य एक राज्य अथवा राजतन्त्र का सुतरां प्रवर्तन है, जिसमें प्रजा सुखपूर्वक रह सके - अतः इसमें आयुर्वेदीय तत्वों का स्थान तो स्वल्प ही है। परन्तु स्वल्प होने पर भी आयुर्वेदीय तत्वों के निरूपण से यह बात स्पष्ट होती है कि अर्थशास्त्र का लेखक चाहे वह चाणक्य कौटिल्य अथवा विष्णुगुप्त या कोई अन्य रहा हो - आयुर्वेद के सिद्धांतों से सुपरिचित था।

सन्दर्भ-सूची

1. 'आज के युग में संस्कृत की प्रासंगिकता' (शोधपत्र) डॉ. बलदेवसिंह, हरियाणा साहित्य अकादमी, चण्डीगढ़ द्वारा प्रकाशित (1986)।
2. चित्रभेककौण्डिन्यककृकणपञ्चकुष्ठयतपदीचूर्णम् उच्चिदिंगकम्बलिशतकन्देध्म-कृकलासचूर्णं गृहगौलिकान्धाहिककृकणकपूतिकीटगोमारिकाचूर्णं भल्लातकावतगु-कारसयुक्तं सद्यः प्राणहरणमेतेषां वा धूमः। (अर्थशास्त्र, औपनिषदिक अधिकरण)
3. शतकर्दमोच्चिदिङ्गकरवीरकटुतुम्बीमत्स्यधूमो मदनकोद्रवपलालेन हस्तिकर्णपलाशपलालेन वा प्रवातनुवाते प्रणीतो यावच्चरति तावन्मारयति। (पूर्वोक्त)
4. पूतिकरञ्जपत्रहरितालमनश्शिलागुञ्जारक्तकार्पासपलालान्यास्फोटकाचगोश-कृद्रसपिष्टमन्धीकरोधूमः। सर्पानिर्मोकं गोश्वपुरीषमन्धाहिकशिरश्चान्धीकरो धूमः। (पूर्वोक्त)
5. सारिकाकपोतबकनालाकालण्डमर्काक्षिपीलुकस्नुहिक्षीरपिष्टमन्धीकरणमञ्जनमुदकदूषणं च। (पूर्वोक्त)
6. यवकशालिमूलमदनफलजातीपत्रनरमूत्रयोगाः प्लक्षविदारीमूलयुक्तो मूकोदुम्बर मदनकोद्रवक्वाथयुक्तो हस्तिकर्णपलाशक्वाथयुक्तो वा मदनयोगः।
7. अनिषैरद्भुतोत्पातैः परस्योद्वेगमाचरेत्। (पूर्वोक्त 14.2)
8. शिरीषोदुम्बरशमीचूर्णं सर्पिषा संहृत्यार्धमासिकक्षुद्योगः (अर्थ., अधिकरण 14, अ. 178)
9. कशेरुकोत्पलकन्देक्षुमूलबिसदूर्वाक्षीरघृतमण्डसिद्धो मासिकः। (पूर्वोक्त)
10. तक्रयवभक्षस्य सप्तरात्रादूर्ध्वं श्वेतगर्दभस्यलण्डयवैः सिद्धं गौरसर्षपतैलं विरूपकरणम्। (पूर्वोक्त)
11. समुद्रमण्डूकीशङ्खसुधाकदलीक्षारतक्रयोगः श्वेतीकरणम्। (पूर्वोक्त)

12. अर्कतूलोऽर्जुने कीटः श्वेता च गृहगोलिका।
एतेन पिष्टेनाभ्यक्ताः केशाः स्युः शङ्खपाण्डुराः।। (वही)
13. कुक्कुटीकोशातकीशतावरीमूलयुक्तमाहारयमाणो मासेन गौरोभवति। (वही)
14. तस्मादस्य जाङ्गलीविदोभिषः चासन्नाः स्युः। (अर्थ. 1.16.20)
15. दैवान्यष्टौ महाभयानि - अग्निरुदकं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मूषिकाः ....।'' (अर्थशास्त्र, 4.78.3)
16. व्याधिभयमौपनिषदिकैः प्रतीकारैः प्रतिकुर्युः। औषधौश्चिकित्सकाः शान्तिप्रायश्चित्तै सिद्धतापसाः। तेन मरको व्याख्यातः। तीर्थाभिषेवनं महाकच्छवर्धनं गवां श्मशानावदोहनं कबन्धदहनं देवरात्रिं च कारयेत्।'' (पूर्वोक्त, 4.78.3)
17. ''तैलाभ्यक्तमाशुमृतकं परीक्षेत। निष्कीर्णमूत्रपुरीषं वातपूर्णकोष्ठत्वक्कं शूनपादपाणिमुन्मीलिताक्षं सव्यञ्जनकण्ठं पीडननिरुद्धोच्छ्वासहतं विद्यात्। ....'' (पूर्वोक्त 4.82.7)

17
अर्थशास्त्र और मुद्राराक्षस

डॉ॰ शर्मिला चटर्जी

राजधर्म के नियमों के निर्धारण में कौटिल्य एवं उनके ग्रन्थ "अर्थशास्त्र" का नाम अति-परिचित है। "अर्थशास्त्र" जन-जीवन से संबंधित सभी आवश्यक बिन्दुओं को अपने में समेटे हुए है। "अर्थ" शब्द का व्यापक रूप कौटिल्य नें अपने ग्रन्थ में लिया है - **मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः। मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः**। (अधि. 15, अ. 1, प्रक. 180)।

धर्म, अर्थ, काम में उन्होंने अर्थ को ही प्राधान्य दिया है। अन्य दो उस पर ही निर्भर करते हैं।[1] राजशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्र और समाज-शास्त्र तीनों का समन्वित रूप यह ग्रन्थ है।

अर्थशास्त्र के रचनाकार "कौटिल्य" के विषय में कोई भी प्रामाणिक तथ्य उपलब्ध नहीं हैं - केवल यह सत्य है कि उन्होंने अर्थशास्त्र की रचना की है। मुद्राराक्षस प्रथम संस्कृत नाटक है जिसमें अर्थशास्त्र का कौटिल्य जन मानस में एक निश्चित आकार ग्रहण करता प्रतीत होता है। यद्यपि इसका सृजन लोक-परम्परा तथा अनुश्रुतियों के आधार पर किया गया है। यह एक राजनैतिक-षड्यन्त्र प्रधान विशुद्ध राजनैतिक नाटक है। चाणक्य और चन्द्रगुप्त–ऐतिहासिक पात्र होने से इसे ऐतिहासिक नाटकों की श्रेणी में रख सकते हैं किन्तु, राक्षस और मलयकेतु की ऐतिहासिकता प्रामाणिक नहीं है। नाटक का आधारभूत मुख्य कथांश ऐतिहासिक है।

कौटिल्य के अर्श्वशास्त्र के अनेक सिद्धान्त इसमें व्यवहारिक रूप में प्राप्त होते हैं जो कि स्वाभाविक ही हैं क्योंकि मुद्राराक्षस का नायक चाणक्य, अर्थशास्त्र के कौटिल्य से अनुप्राणित है। किन्तु नाटककार ने इतिहास-प्रसिद्ध कुटिल-

क्रोधी चाणक्य को सहज मानव रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है। नाटककार ने उसकी निःस्पृहता के कारण उसके लिये निरीह शब्द का प्रयोग किया है[2] जिसने लोकहित की भावना से नन्द जैसे विशाल साम्राज्य का उन्मूलन किया न कि अपनी महत्वाकांक्षा की पूर्ति के लिये। उसकी सफलता का रहस्य - अपने पुरुषार्थ में अटूट एवं अदम्य विश्वास तथा दृढ़ आत्म-विश्वास है। वह दैव की अपेक्षा "पुरुषार्थ का पक्षपाती है।"[3] मुद्राराक्षस के चाणक्य की राजनीति एक ऐसी कल्पना है जो किसी भी काल में यथार्थ हो सकती है। कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र का महाप्रयोक्ता राक्षस है किन्तु चाणक्य उसका प्रतिवाद-कर्ता चरित्र है - यह नाटककार की मौलिकता का अद्भुत् उदाहरण है। नाटककार ने मौर्य-साम्राज्य की स्थापना और प्रतिष्ठा का सारा श्रेय चाणक्य को दिया है। प्रतिनायक - राक्षस, चाणक्य के समान निःस्वार्थ राजनीतिक महत्वाकांक्षा से पूर्ण व्यक्ति है। उसके बुद्धि बल को चाणक्य भी स्वीकार करता है, इसी कारण वह उसे चन्द्रगुप्त का अमात्य बनाना चाहता है। उसकी राजनीति-पटुता तथा बुद्धि चाणक्य से कम भले ही हो किन्तु नन्दवंशोद्धार की महत्त्वाकांक्षा उसी के समान तीव्र है, उसकी नन्दवंश के प्रति दृढ़ भक्ति से चाणक्य अभिभूत होता है।[4] मनुष्यता पर सहज विश्वास राक्षस की असफलता का एक कारण ही बना है जबकि इसी का अभाव चाणक्य की सफलता है। जीवसिद्धि, सिद्धार्थ आदि पर वह सहज ही विश्वास कर परममित्र मानता है। इसके अतिरिक्त दुर्बल-चित्त मलयकेतु भी उसकी असफलता का कारण है। राक्षस के चर चाणक्य के चरों के समान उसकी शक्ति में दृढ़ विश्वासी नहीं है, वे दुर्बल-चित्त हैं उनमें कर्तव्य-निष्ठा तथा महत्वकांक्षा का अभाव है।

चाणक्य और राक्षस के चरित्रों के समक्ष चन्द्रगुप्त का चरित्र अधिक महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। वह एक ऐसा माध्यम है जिसे बीच में रख कर चाणक्य अपनी कूटनीति का संचालन करता है। अर्थशास्त्र में दिये राजा के सभी गुण[5] उस पर पूरे उतरते हैं केवल "महाकुलीन" गुण के अतिरिक्त। चन्द्रगुप्त के वंश अथवा आत्म-परिचय का कोई ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण-सिद्ध साक्ष्य उपलब्ध नहीं है। मुद्राराक्षस में उसे चाणक्य और राक्षस ने "वृषल" शब्द से सम्बोधित किया है। जहां चाणक्य द्वारा प्रयुक्त वृषल शब्द (चाणक्य ने उसे सर्वत्र "वृषल" ही कहा है) स्नेह का सूचक है - राक्षस द्वारा प्रयुक्त वृषल शब्द[6] उसके हीनकुल के प्रति घृणा का सूचक है। वह नन्द वंशज है, सम्भवतः नन्द की शूद्रा पत्नी से उत्पन्न पुत्र के प्रचलित कथ्य को कवि ने अपनाया है।

राजा के कर्तव्यों के प्रति कौटिल्य के सिद्धान्त

प्रजासुखं सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हितं हितम्[7] - को विशाखदत्त ने चन्द्रगुप्त पर लागू किया है। शत्रु-पक्ष को वश में करने के लिए उसने सैन्य संहार की अपेक्षा चाणक्य की कूटनीति (कपट-विरोध) के मार्ग का अवलम्बन किया जो प्रजा के हित में ही रहा।

कौटिल्य की राजनीति का प्रमुख तत्व चर (प्रणिधि) है। उसकी सम्पूर्ण कूटनीति इन चरों पर ही आश्रित है। शत्रु-राष्ट्र की खबर लेने के अतिरिक्त आभ्यन्तर राष्ट्र में भ्रष्टाचार आदि दूर करने के लिये भी ये प्रयुक्त किये जाने चाहिए। अर्थशास्त्र में नौ प्रकार के प्रणिधि बताये गये हैं - **कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्य जनान्सत्त्रितीक्ष्णरसद भिक्षुकीश्च**[8]। इनमें कापटिक प्रकार का चर मन्त्री के सम्पर्क में रहने वाला चर है। उदास्थित व्यापारी श्रेणी के मध्य निवास करता हुआ उनके दैनिक आचरण एवं गतिविधियों की खोज खबर रखता है। गृहपतिक कृषक वर्ग को राजा के अनुकूल बनाये रखता है। ये तापस चर की प्रसिद्धि को फैलाने का भी काम करते हैं। राजद्वेषियों को गुप्त रूप से वध करने का काम तापस चर का होता है। इनके अतिरिक्त आभ्यन्तर चरों में परिचारक वर्ग आता है। अर्थशास्त्र में सिद्धान्तों में वर्णित चर "मुद्राराक्षस" में व्यवहारिक रूप में प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। चाणक्य ने गुप्तचरों के बल पर ही[9] राक्षस को जीता - मुद्राराक्षस में यह अतिशयोक्ति नहीं प्रतीत होती। राक्षस के चारों तरफ चाणक्य के गुप्तचरों का जाल बिछा है। चाणक्य का मित्र-इन्दु शर्मा - क्षपणक जीवसिद्धि के रूप में राक्षस का परम मित्र है। चाणक्य के चर निपुणक ने भिक्षुक के वेष में राक्षस की नामाङ्कित अगूंठी राक्षस की पत्नी से प्राप्त की जो कथा का बीज बना। चाणक्य का एक अन्य चर सिद्धार्थक राक्षस का सेवक है जिसने राक्षस के मित्र शकट दास का लेख तथा आभूषण (मृत पर्वतक के) मलयकेतु को सौंप दिये जो राक्षस और मलयकेतु के बीच फूट का कारण बना। भागुरायण नामक चाणक्य का चर (जो राजपुत्र है) - मलयकेतु का परम विश्वासपात्र मित्र है। जो उसे राक्षस के विरुद्ध भड़काता है तथा राक्षस की बातों का भ्रष्ट अर्थ उसे समझाता है।[10] सुसिद्धार्थक - सिद्धार्थक का मित्र चाण्डाल वेष में चन्दनदास को वध-स्थान पर ले जाता है। इनके अतिरिक्त फांसी लगाने वाला पुरुष, भद्रभट, पुरुष दत्त, हिङ्गुरात, उदुम्बर आदि अन्य चर हैं जो चाणक्य को राक्षस की गतिविधियों से अवगत कराते हैं।

राक्षस ने भी अपने चर नियुक्त किये हैं। विराधगुप्त नामक चर "जीर्णविष" नामक संपेरा बन कर कुसुमपुर के सारे समाचार लाकर राक्षस को देता है। स्तन-कलश नाम का चर पथिक बन कर पाटलिपुत्र के सारे समाचार लाता है। दारुवर्मा नाम का शिल्पी-चर जो तोरणद्वार को चन्द्रगुप्त पर गिराने का षड्यन्त्र करता हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त महावत बर्बरक जिसने चन्द्रगुप्त की हथिनी को इतना तेज दौड़ाया कि चन्द्रगुप्त के स्थान पर वैरोचन मारा गया तथा वैद्य अभयदत्त जिसने चन्द्रगुप्त पर विष का असफल प्रयोग किया।

"मुद्राराक्षस" के समग्र अध्ययन से चाणक्य की जो कूटनीति समझ में आती है वह अर्थशास्त्र के कौटिल्य की महत्वाकांक्षा से पूर्ण, कार्य की सिद्धि के लिये नैतिक-अनैतिक साधनों का प्रयोग कर शत्रु का समूल नाश करने की नीति से भिन्न प्रतीत होती हैं। शत्रु को वश में लाने के राजशास्त्र के चार उपाय – साम,

दाम, दण्ड, भेद[11] को विशाखदत्त के चाणक्य ने अपनाया है। साम और दान का प्रयोग उन्होंने पर्वतक और वैरोचन को (राज्य-सिंहासन का लोभ देकर) मारने में तथा दण्ड और भेद का प्रयोग सबल राक्षस को वश में लाने के लिए किया। चाणक्य की कूटनीति में यहां सर्वत्र मानवीयता का स्पर्श मिलता है। वह शत्रु का समूल नाश करने की अपेक्षा उसकी कार्य-कुशलता का राष्ट्र-हित में प्रयोग करने के पक्ष में है। वह चतुराई से राक्षस की मुद्रा प्राप्त करता है। चर की सहायता से शकटदास लिखित कूट-लेख प्राप्त करता है। अपने चर द्वारा ही बध स्थान से शकटदास को भगा कर राक्षस के घर पहुंचाता है, ताकि चर (सिद्धार्थक) राक्षस और शकटदास का विश्वास-भाजन बन सके। क्षपणक जीवसिद्धि को वह पर्वतक की हत्या के अभियोग में राज्य से निकाल देता है ताकि वह (जीवसिद्धि) राक्षस की सहानुभूति प्राप्त कर सके। वह राक्षस के मित्र चन्दनदास को बन्दी बना कर वध का आदेश देता है। जिसके फलस्वरूप राक्षस आत्मसमर्पण कर देता है। सभी चरों को देश छोड़कर स्वयं भागते दिखाया है ताकि वे चर राक्षस की सहानुभूति प्राप्त कर सकें। राक्षस द्वारा चन्द्रगुप्त के लिये नियुक्त की गयी विषकन्या का चाणक्य पर्वतक पर प्रयोग कर उसे मरवा देता है[12] तथा जनश्रुति फैला देता है कि राक्षस ने ही विषकन्या द्वारा पर्वतक की हत्या करवायी है। वैरोचन को राज्य का अर्ध भाग देकर चन्द्रगुप्त के साथ एकासन पर बैठाता है जिसके परिणामस्वरूप राक्षस के षड्यन्त्र को विफल कर चन्द्रगुप्त के स्थान पर वैरोचन की हत्या हो जाती है। चन्द्रगुप्त के प्राण-नाश के राक्षस के सभी प्रयत्नों (विष-प्रयोग, शयनकक्ष-दहन) को वह विफल कर देता है। वह कौमुदी - महोत्सव के बहाने से चन्द्रगुप्त से कपट मतभेद उपस्थित करता है, जिसे राक्षस का चर-वैतालिक ज्यों का त्यों निवेदन करता है। राक्षस को वह राज्य छोड़ कर भाग जाने का आश्वासन देता है। वह मलयकेतु के समक्ष जीवसिद्धि द्वारा पर्वतक की हत्या का आरोप राक्षस पर लगवाता है जिसकी पुष्टि सिद्धार्थक के पास से प्राप्त पवर्तक के आभूषणों से हो जाती है। राक्षस को पाटलिपुत्र बुलाने के लिए वह चन्दन दास को बन्दी बना कर उसके वध का आदेश दे देता है।

उसके इस सब कार्यों का विवेचन करने पर जो मुख्य बात सामने आती हैं, वह है - उसने राक्षस की कूटनीति का प्रयोग उसके ही विरुद्ध किया।[13] साथ ही चाणक्य की राजनैतिक परिपक्वता राक्षस की तुलना में अधिक प्रभावशाली है। राक्षस उतना दूरदर्शी नहीं है जितना चाणक्य। उसने चाणक्य के यहां अपने प्रणिधि नियुक्त अवश्य किये है किन्तु वह स्वयं उनके कार्य आदि को स्मरण नहीं कर पाता।[14] उसमें नैराश्य की भावना इतनी अधिक भर चुकी है कि अपने सभी प्रयत्नों की सफलता वह भाग्य पर छोड़ देता है।[15] अपने में वह आत्म-विश्वास की कमी पाता है। अपने मित्रों पर वह पूर्णतया विश्वास नहीं कर पाता। सिद्धार्थक द्वारा मुद्रा प्राप्ति के विषय में जो स्पष्टीकरण दिया जाता है वह उस पर तुरन्त

विश्वास कर लेता है।

चाणक्य की अपेक्षा राक्षस ने कौटिल्य की कूटनीति का प्रयोग किया है। विशाखदत्त ने एक नवीन उद्‌भावना की है विष-कन्या प्रयोग की। कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में इसका निर्देश नही किया गया है। अर्थशास्त्र में तेरह प्रकार के राजकीय लेख का वर्णन है।[16] किन्तु "मुद्रा-राक्षस" में प्राप्त 'कपट-लेख' का स्वरूप विलक्षण ही है जिसकी कल्पना विशाखदत्त की कुशल राजनीतिक बुद्धि ही कर सकती है। अर्थशास्त्रकार की षड्गुण नीति[17] का उल्लेख मिलता है-[18] मुद्राराक्षस में उनमें से कुछ का प्रयोग भी किया गया है। कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में वर्णित 'परिपणित सन्धि' का कुछ भाव राक्षस और मलयकेतु के मध्य हुई सन्धि में द्रष्टव्य है। समस्त नन्द साम्राज्य के स्वामित्व प्रदान की शर्त पर मलयकेतु राक्षस का सहयोग करता है।[19] सन्धि द्वारा अपने कार्यों के सुफल को भोगने के साथ-साथ शत्रु के उत्तम कार्य का लाभ उठाने के कौटिल्य के उद्देश्य[20] को मुद्राराक्षस के चाणक्य ने अपनाया है। राक्षस की हत्या न करवाकर उसे चन्द्रगुप्त का मन्त्री बनाने का मुख्य उद्देश्य राक्षस की राजनैतिक-कुशलता का मौर्य-साम्राज्य के लिये उपयोग करना है साथ ही नन्द साम्राज्य को समूल नष्ट करने का लाभ है ही। संश्रय (आत्म समर्पण - परार्पणं संश्रयः) का प्रयोग कौटिल्य के अनुसार तब करना चाहिए जब व्यक्ति यह समझ ले कि वह शत्रु को कोई हानि नहीं पहुंचा सकता, अपने कार्यों की रक्षा करने में वह समर्थ नहीं है - राक्षस ने अन्त में संश्रय वृत्ति का ही अवलम्बन लिया।

अर्थशास्त्र में वर्णित तीन प्रकार के युद्धों– प्रकाश युद्ध, कूट युद्ध और तूष्णी युद्ध (चरों की सफलता से शत्रु-वध का प्रयत्न) में से राक्षस द्वारा तूष्णी युद्ध का आश्रय लिया गया है।[22]

कौटिल्य मित्रता को महत्व नहीं देते थे। उनके अनुसार युद्ध में भूमि लाभ, हिरण्य लाभ और मित्रलाभ में भूमिलाभ श्रेष्ठतम है। हिरण्य लाभ, मित्रलाभ से श्रेष्ठतर है,[23] जबकि मुद्राराक्षस में मित्रलाभ को ही श्रेष्ठतम माना गया है। राक्षस - जो कि किसी भी परिस्थिति में चाणक्य के हाथों समर्पण को तैयार नहीं है, अपने मित्र चन्दनदास के प्राणों की शंका के कारण आत्म-समर्पण कर देता है चाणक्य भी नन्द राज्य की प्राप्ति को तब तक सिद्ध नहीं मानता जब तक वह राक्षस को मित्र रूप में प्राप्त कर चन्द्रगुप्त का मन्त्री बनना स्वीकार्य नहीं करा लेता।

कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र के अध्ययन से यह ज्ञात होता है कि वह राजा-प्रधान युग था।[24] राजा ही मन्त्री, अमात्य, अधीक्षकों की नियुक्ति करता था तथा उन पर विपत्ति पड़ने पर वही उनका प्रतिकार करता था।[25] जबकि मुद्राराक्षस में राजा से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण मन्त्री है। राजा की त्रुटि का दायित्व मन्त्री पर होता था।[26] इसमें दो राजाओं का नहीं अपितु दो मन्त्रियों की कूटनीति की लड़ाई है। राक्षस

चन्द्रगुप्त को जीतने की अपेक्षा चाणक्य की पदच्युति पर ही अपनी आशा केन्द्रित करता है। चाणक्य मलयकेतु के अस्तित्व को नकार कर - राक्षस को हराना ही नन्द वंश का समूल नाश मानता है। उसे चन्द्रगुप्त का मन्त्री बनाने का उद्देश्य भी यही है कि एक अच्छा मन्त्री ही साम्राज्य को सुसंगठित रूप से संचालित कर सकता है, वह स्वयं इसका उदाहरण है। राक्षस ने चन्द्रगुप्त को 'सचिवायत्तसिद्धि' कहा है।[27]

अर्थशास्त्र में प्रतिपादित एक-राजत्व के सिद्धान्त को यहाँ भी स्वीकार किया गया है।

अर्थशास्त्र से प्रेरणा लेकर भी विशाखदत्त ने नाटक की रचना में मौलिकता बनाये रखी है। उन्होंने कौटिल्य की सम्पूर्ण कूटनीतियों का पालन नहीं किया है तथा जिनका भी प्रयोग किया है उन्हें भी भिन्न अर्थ में किया है। सम्भवतः तत्कालीन समय की राजनैतिक मांग को ही उन्होंने स्वीकार किया बजाय प्राचीनतम ग्रन्थ की रूढ़ि बन चुकी नीतियों का अन्धानुकरण करने के। कौटिल्य की नीतियां उस समय जितनी सार्थक रही होंगी संभवतः विशाखदत्त को उतनी अपने युग में नहीं लगी। विशाखदत्त के चाणक्य की कुछ नयी नीतियां यह सिद्ध करती हैं कि विशाखदत्त राजनीति - विद्या में पारंगत थे। मुद्राराक्षस के परिप्रेक्ष्य में अर्थशास्त्र के कौटिल्य को समझना उतना दुःसाध्य नहीं है जितना इस ग्रन्थ की रचना के पूर्व रहा होगा।

सन्दर्भ-सूची

1. अर्थ एव प्रधानम् इति कौटिल्यः। अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामामिति।। (अधिकरण, 6 अध्याय 1)
2. कञ्चुकी का कथन - अंक 3, श्लोक 15.
3. दैवमविद्वांसः प्रमाणयन्ति - चाणक्य का कथन - तृतीय अंक।
4. मुद्राराक्षस - प्रथम अंक, 142 श्लोक।
5. तत्र स्वामीसम्पत्। महाकुलीनो दैवबुद्धिसत्वसम्पन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिक स्सत्यवागविसंवादकः कृतज्ञः स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घसूत्रः शक्यसामन्तो दृढ़बुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिषक्तो विनयकाम इत्याभिगामिका गुणाः।। अधिकरण 6, अंक 1, प्रक. 96.
6. मुद्राराक्षस, षष्ठ अंक।
7. अधिकरण 1, अध्याय 19, प्रक. 16.
8. अधिकरण 1, प्रक. 1.
9. नियुक्ताश्च मया स्वपक्ष - परपक्षयोः अनुरक्तापरक्तजनजितासया बहुविधदेश-भाषावेशाचारसञ्चारवेदिनो नानाव्यञ्जनाः प्रणिधयः। - चाणक्य कथन, प्रथम अंक।
10. "प्रत्यासन्नो वा राजानं सत्रीऽ ग्राहयेत्। असौ चासौ च ते महामात्रः शत्रुपुरुषैः सम्भाषते।" अर्थशास्त्र, 12.3.
11. सामदानभेदादण्डान्प्रयुञ्जीत।। अधिकरण, 6, प्रक. 9.
12. कन्या तस्य वधाय या विषमयी गूढं प्रयुक्ता मया।
दैवात् पर्वतकस्तया विनिहृतो यस्तस्य राज्यार्द्धभाक्।

ये शस्त्रेषु रसेषु च प्रणिहितास्तैरेव ते घातिता।
मौर्यस्यैव फलन्ति पश्य विविधश्रेयांसि मे नीतयः।। –राक्षस कथन, द्वितीय अंक।

13. वही।
14. कस्मिन् प्रयोजने मयायं प्रहित इति प्रयोजनानां बाहुल्यान्न खल्ववधारयामि। –चतुर्थ अंक।
15. निन्दा प्रशंसा पृच्छा च तथाख्यानमथार्थना।
प्रत्याख्यानमुपालम्भः प्रतिवेषेधोऽथ चोदना।।
सान्त्वमभ्यवपत्तिश्च भर्त्सनानुनयौ तथा।
एतेष्वर्थाः प्रवर्तन्ते त्रयोदशसु लेखजाः। –अधिकरण 2, प्रक. 28, अ. 10.
16. द्वितीय अंक, श्लोक 8.
17. षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमण्डलं योनिः।
''सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यम्'' इत्याचार्याः। –अधिकरण 7, प्रक. 98-99, अध्याय 1.
18. षड्गुणसंयोगदृढ़ा ''उपायपरिपाटी घटिताशमुखी।
चाणक्य नीतिरज्जूरिपद्यतापुसंयमनशुजुका जयति।। –मुद्रा., 6.4.
19. लाभसाम्ये सन्धिः। –अधिकरण 6, अ. 6, 111-112 प्रक.
20. मुद्राराक्षस, प्रथम अंक, चाणक्य कथन।
21. महाफलानि स्वकर्माण्युपभोक्ष्ये परकर्माणि वा। –अधि. 6, अ. 1, प्र. 98, 99.
22. योगभगूढ़ोपजापार्थ तूष्णींयुद्धस्य लक्षणम्। –अधिकरण 6, प्रक. 111-112.
23. संहितप्रयाणे मित्रहिरण्यभूमिलाभाभानामुत्तरो लाभः श्रेयान्। मित्र हिरण्ये हि भूमिलाभाद्भवतः मित्रहिरण्यलाभात् यो वा लाभः सिद्धः सतयोरन्यतरं साधयति। अधिकरण 6, अ. 9, प्रक. 115.
24. अधिकरण 8, प्रक. 128.
25. मन्त्रीपुरोहितादि भृत्यवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचारं पुरुषद्रव्यप्रकृतिवासनप्रतीकारमेधनं राजैव करोति। अधिकरण 8, अ. 1, प्रक. 126.
26. स दोषः सचिवस्यैव यद्सत्कुरुते नृपः।
याति यन्तुः प्रमादेन गजो व्यालत्वबाच्यताय ।32। कञ्चुकी कथन - तृतीय अंक
27. स्वायत्तसिद्धिषु ....। राक्षसकथन, चतुर्थ अंक मुद्राराक्षस।

18
अर्थशास्त्र और रघुवंश

डॉ॰ आभा पाण्डे

प्राचीनकाल से ही भारतीय मनीषियों ने धर्म, अर्थ और काम रूप त्रिवर्ग की प्राप्ति को जीवन का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया है। इनमें से जीवन के द्वितीय लक्ष्य अर्थात् अर्थ का विवेचन अर्थशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। कौटिल्य का अर्थशास्त्र (ई. पू. चतुर्थशताब्दी) इस विषय पर प्राप्त प्राचीनतम ग्रन्थ है। यह ग्रन्थ तत्कालीन राजनीति विज्ञान के उत्कर्ष का परिचायक है। यह एक ऐसा दीपस्तम्भ है जो शताब्दियों से भारतीय संस्कृति को आलोकित कर रहा है। अतएव परवर्ती साहित्य पर तो इसका प्रभाव पड़ना सर्वथा स्वाभाविक ही है। वैसे स्वतंत्र रूप में अर्थशास्त्र का दाय लेकर अनेक कृतियां इस विषय पर संस्कृत में रची गयी किन्तु जिन रचनाओं में कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र के प्रतिपादित विधानों और सिद्धान्तों का अनुसरण किया जाता है, उनकी संख्या भी पर्याप्त है। ई.पू. प्रथम शताब्दी में महाकवि कालिदास से लेकर सातवीं शती तक बाण प्रभृति कवियों की रचनाएं अर्थशास्त्र से प्रत्यक्षतः प्रभावित हैं। कवि कालिदास के ग्रन्थों में विशेषतः "रघुवंश" पर अर्थशास्त्र का सर्वाधिक प्रभाव लक्षित होता है; क्योंकि "रघुवंश" की रचना का उद्देश्य बहुमुखी होते हुए भी उसका सर्वप्रमुख उद्देश्य लोक के समक्ष राजधर्म का आदर्श रूप प्रस्तुत करना था।

अर्थशास्त्र में कौटिल्य ने शासनकला के सिद्धान्तों और विधानों के उल्लेख के साथ-साथ ऐसे नियमों सूत्रों और नीतियों को भी उपस्थित किया है जो किसी शासक के लिए आदर्श कहे जा सकते हैं। उन्होंने प्रजा के सुख और कल्याण की दिशा में अधिकाधिक प्रयास बाह्य तथा आंतरिक विपत्तियों से प्रजा की रक्षा तथा राज्य में सुख-शांति की स्थापना करना राजा का महत्त्वपूर्ण कर्तव्य तथा दायित्व माना है। समाज में सुख-शांति, समृद्धि, ज्ञान और विज्ञान आदि के विकास के

लिए पहली आवश्यकता है सुदृढ़ एवं सुव्यवस्थित शासन की, और इसके लिए आवश्यक है विशिष्ट गुण सम्पन्न शासक का होना। यही कारण है कि कौटिल्य ने राज्य की सप्त प्रकृतियों में राजा को सबसे प्रमुख स्थान दिया है क्योंकि शेष प्रकृतियां उसी पर आश्रित हैं। यही कारण है कि कौटिल्य ने राजा को संक्षेप में राज्य की संज्ञा प्रदान करते हुए[1] सर्वप्रथम राजा के अपेक्षित गुणों और कर्तव्यों पर प्रकाश डाला है। कवि कालिदास ने भी रघुवंश के प्रारम्भ में ही सुयोग्य शासक के आदर्श को सूत्र रूप में उपस्थित करते हुए कहा है–

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकर्मणाम् .... आदि।[2] यहां कवि ने रघुवंश प्रणयन को प्रेरणा प्रदान करने वाले रघुवंशी राजाओं के गुणों का उल्लेख किया है, लगभग वे सभी "अर्थशास्त्र" में कौटिल्य द्वारा निर्दिष्ट गुणों के अनुरूप ही है। कौटिल्य भी राजा में उच्च-कुलोत्पन्नता, उत्साहसम्पन्नता, धार्मिकता, त्याग, प्रजापालन, देश और काल के अनुसार पुरुषार्थ में प्रधान शक्तिसम्पन्नता, सत्यवादिता और कामक्रोधादि दुर्गुणों का अभाव अपेक्षित मानते है।[3] सूत्र रूप में ग्रथित इन गुणों के अतिरिक्त कवि ने अपने आदर्श नायकों– दिलीप, रघु, अज, दशरथ, राम और अतिथि आदि के वर्णन में अर्थशास्त्र में परिगणित राजा के अन्य व्यक्तिगत और सामाजिक गुणों को पृथक्-पृथक् उनके चरित्र में गुम्फित कर उनके चारित्रिक उत्कर्ष को व्यक्त किया है।[4]

आचार्य कौटिल्य जीवन की सफलता एवं सम्पूर्णता के लिए धर्म, अर्थ और काम में संतुलन अत्यावश्यक मानते हैं। उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा है कि यदि राजा धर्म, अर्थ और काम में से किसी एक का दूसरे की अपेक्षा अधिक सेवन करेगा तो अपने धर्म, अर्थ काम में किसी एक का अवश्य नाश कर देगा[5] उनके इस कथन से कालिदास भी पूर्णतः सहमत हैं। उनकी उपर्युक्त उक्ति की सार्थकता का अनुभव करते हुए कालिदास ने रघुवंश में अपने काव्यनायकों द्वारा त्रिवर्ग के संतुलित सेवन की प्रशंसा की है। यथा-

धर्मार्थकामेषु समां प्रपेदे यथा तयैवावरजेषु वृत्तिम्। - रघुवंश, 14.21

राजा अतिथि के द्वारा भी त्रिवर्ग के समान सेवन उनके द्वारा वर्णित है–

न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ।
नार्थ कामेन कामं वा सोऽर्थेन सहशस्त्रिषु।। 17.52

धर्म, अर्थ तथा काम में से किसी एक के अधिक सेवन से शेष का नाश किस प्रकार होता है, अग्निवर्ण के चरित्र के माध्यम से कालिदास इसे साकार रूप देकर मानों आचार्य कौटिल्य के सिद्धान्त रूप में प्रस्तुत कथन को जैसे प्रमाणित कर दिया है।

आचार्य कौटिल्य और कवि कालिदास दोनों ही राजा की स्वेच्छाचारिता अथवा निरंकुशता के घोर विरोधी हैं। नीति के अनुकूल आचरण ही उन्हें अभिप्रेत है। कौटिल्य ने काम, क्रोध, मद, लोभ, मान और अतिशय प्रसन्नता को शुत्र षड्वर्ग

की संज्ञा से अभिहित करते हुए इन दुष्प्रवृत्तियों का परित्याग राजा के लिए अनिवार्य कहा है।[6] और कालिदास ने इस अरिषड्वर्ग पर राजा अतिथि की विजय को इस प्रकार वर्णित किया है–

अनित्याः शत्रवो बाह्या विप्रकृष्टाश्च ते यतः।
अतः सोऽभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान्षट्पूर्वभजयद्रिपून्।। रघु., 17.45

इसी प्रकार आदर्श नायक राम के उचित समय पर प्रजा के कार्यों का अवलोकन और तदुपरान्त उचित काल में रमण-विहारादि के वर्णन में भी कौटिल्य का विधान आवश्यक उनके समक्ष रहा है - "स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले रेमे विदेहाधिपतेर्दुहित्रा (14.84)।" कौटिल्य रात्रि और दिन को सोलह भागों में विभक्त कर दिन के द्वितीय भाग में नगर और राष्ट्र के कार्यों का अवलोकन करने और रात्रि के षष्ठ भाग में यथेच्छ विहार और रमणादि का परामर्श देते हैं।[7] इसी आदर्श का अनुसरण करते हुए कवि ने राजा अतिथि के द्वारा भी इसका पालन वर्णित किया है।

रात्रिंदिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम्।
तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः।। 17.49

वस्तुतः प्रजारञ्जन ही शासक का परमध्येय है। राजा का अपना कोई सुख अथवा कल्याण नहीं होता, प्रजा के सुख में ही उसका सुख है और प्रजा के कल्याण में ही उसका कल्याण। इसी सिद्धान्त को प्रस्तुत करते हुए कौटिल्य ने इस प्रकार व्यवस्था दी है–

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्।।
अर्थ., अधि. 1.16.19

रघुवंश के सभी नायक इस सिद्धान्त का मन, वचन और कर्म से पालन करते हुए प्रजाहित में संलग्न दिखाई देते हैं। कौटिल्य "पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्" (2.1.1) कहकर राजा को प्रजा पर पिता की भाँति अनुग्रह करने का निर्देश देते हैं। पिता की भांति प्रजा की रक्षा करना और उसे सन्मार्ग पर चलने को प्रेरित करना राजा का कर्तव्य है और यह आदर्श लगभग सभी रघुवंशी राजाओं में साकार हुआ है, विशेषतः दिलीप और राम में–

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि।
स पिता पितरस्तेषां केवलं जन्महेतवः।। 1.24

तथा "तेनास लोक पितृमान् .... आदि।"

कौटिल्य प्रजा द्वारा वर्णाश्रम धर्म का पालन कराना राजा का एक प्रमुख कर्तव्य मानते हैं। यदि कोई वर्णाश्रम से च्युत होता है तो उसे दण्डित करना राजा का धर्म है।[8] कालिदास भी इससे अक्षरसाः सहमत हैं। वर्णाश्रम धर्म की रक्षा के लिए पञ्चदश सर्ग में राम द्वारा शूद्र तपस्वी के वध का वर्णन इसका प्रमाण है।[9]

कौटिल्य ने शासक में अपेक्षित गुणों के उल्लेख के साथ "व्यसन" अध्याय में उन दुर्गुणों की ओर भी संकेत किया है जो राजा के पतन और विनाश के कारण होते हैं। वे द्यूत को मृगया से, काम को द्यूत से और मद्यपान को काम से अधिक हानिकारक मानते हुए शासकों को इनसे बचने का उपदेश देते हैं।[10] इसका अनुमोदन करते हुए कालिदास ने राजा दशरथ को इन दुर्गुणों अथवा व्यसनों से रहित होने के कारण उनकी प्रशंसा की है।[11] किन्तु कवि कालिदास, कौटिल्य का ही अनुसरण करते हुए, उचित सीमा में व्यायाम तथा लक्ष्यभेद की दृष्टि से मृगया का समर्थन भी करते हैं।[12]

कौटिल्य के अनुसार राजा की शिक्षा के विषय चार हैं - आन्वीक्षिकी, त्रयी, वार्ता तथा दण्डनीति।[13] कालिदास ने भी अपने नायकों के इन चारों में शिक्षित होने का वर्णन किया है।[14] रघुवंश के तृतीयसर्ग में तो कवि ने रघु की शिक्षा का वर्णन ठीक उसी क्रम से उसी भांति किया है, जैसा "अर्थशास्त्र" के प्रथम अधिकरण में कौटिल्य के द्वारा निर्दिष्ट किया गया है।[15]

शासन-तंत्र का वर्णन रघुवंश में प्रचुरता से प्राप्त होता है, जो बहुत अर्थों में "अर्थशास्त्र" का ही अनुकरण करता है। कौटिल्य ने राज्य के सप्तअंगों में राजा के पश्चात् अमात्य को द्वितीय महत्वपूर्ण अंग मानते हुए अमात्य और राजा को रथ के दो चक्रों की भांति कहा है।[16] राजा के पश्चात् अमात्य राज्य का सर्वाधिक उत्तरदायी अधिकारी है। रघुवंश में दिलीपादि मन्त्रि-मण्डल की सहायता से ही राज्यकार्य का संचालन करते हुए वर्णित हैं।[17]

राजा की अनुपस्थिति में अथवा उसके अयोग्य अथवा अस्वस्थ होने की दशा में भी राज्य कार्य संचालन का उत्तरदायित्व मन्त्रिपरिषद् का ही है। रघुवंश के उन्नीसवे सर्ग में अत्यधिक भोग-विलास के कारण अग्निवर्ण के अस्वस्थ हो जाने पर अमात्यों द्वारा उसकी अस्वस्थता का समाचार गुप्त रखकर उसके द्वारा पुत्रीययज्ञ किए जाने का मिथ्या समाचार प्रसारित करने का जो वर्णन प्राप्त होता है,[18] वह पूर्णतः कौटिल्य के विधानानुसार ही है। कौटिल्य ने राजप्रतिसन्धानप्रकरण में राज्य और राजा पर आने वाली विपत्तियों के निराकरण के लिए अमात्यों को परामर्श देते हुए कहा है कि राजा पर जो विपत्ति आए उसका प्रतीकार अमात्य को इस प्रकार करना चाहिए – यदि किसी विरोधी द्वारा राजा के प्रच्छन्न कर्म से मारे जाने की सूचना मिले तो पूर्व से ही राजा के प्रियहितकारी मित्रों की सम्मति से मास दो मास में राजा के दर्शनों की व्यवस्था कर दे। आजकल राजा देश पीड़ा और शत्रुभयनाशक आयुर्जनक या पुत्रोत्पत्तिकारक किसी भी यज्ञादि कर्म में लगे हुए हैं, इससे इनके दर्शन देर से होते हैं यह प्रचारित कर दे।[19] अग्निवर्ण की मृत्यु के पश्चात् गर्भवती रानी को अमात्योंद्वारा सिंहासनासीन करना भी कौटिल्य की व्यवस्थानुसार ही है–

कुमारं राजकन्यां गर्भिणीं देवीं वाधिकुर्वीत। अर्थशास्त्र, 5.6.95, प्रकरणवार्ता 46.

इस प्रकार लौकिक विपत्तियों से राज्य की रक्षा का दायित्व जिस प्रकार मन्त्रि-परिषद् पर होता था उसी प्रकार दैवी विपत्तियों से रक्षा हेतु कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र में एक विशेष अमात्य की नियुक्ति का संकेत प्राप्त होता है जिसे "पुरोहित" कहा गया है। पुरोहित पद के लिए पात्र में उच्चकुलोत्पन्नता, शील और आचार सम्पन्नता, वेद और व्याकरणादि षडों का ज्ञान, दैवी आपत्ति और शकुनशास्त्र का ज्ञान और दैवी और मानुषी विपत्तियों को अथर्ववेद के मंत्रों द्वारा दूर करने के उपायों का ज्ञान अपेक्षित है।[20] यद्यपि "रघुवंश" में "पुरोहित" की नियुक्ति का कोई स्पष्ट प्रसंग प्राप्त नहीं होता तथापि प्रथम सर्ग में वर्णित मुनि वशिष्ठ राज्य के "पुरोहित" प्रतीत होते हैं। यद्यपि उनके लिए कहीं भी स्पष्टरूप से "पुरोहित" शब्द का प्रयोग न कर राजा दिलीप द्वारा उन्हें "गुरु" के रूप में ही संबोधित किया गया है, तथापि हैं वे राज्य के पुरोहित ही। कौटिल्य द्वारा प्रतिपादित "पुरोहित" के सभी गुण उनमें विद्यमान हैं। वे उच्चवंशोत्पन्न, वैदिक संस्कारों में पारंगत और तपस्वी हैं। उनके द्वारा अपनी मन्त्रशक्ति द्वारा राज्य की दैवी और मानुषी विपत्तियों से रक्षा करने का संकेत दिलीप द्वारा कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित किए जाने से मिलता है - दैवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम्[21] (1.60)। कौटिल्य "पुरोहित" को इस प्रकार पूज्य और सम्माननीय मानने का निर्देश देते हैं, जिस प्रकार पिता को पुत्र और स्वामी को सेवक मानता है।[22] प्रथम सर्ग में राजा दिलीप के द्वारा मुनि के प्रति प्रदर्शित आदर और विनय इसके सर्वथा अनुरूप ही है।

कौटिल्य ने मंत्री-मण्डल का विचार-विमर्श सर्वथा गुप्त रूप से चलाने का निर्देश देते हुए मंत्रगोपन पर अत्यधिक बल दिया है। उनका कहना है कि विजयाभिलाषी राजा के भविष्य में करने योग्य कार्य कोई भी न जान सके। जो मनुष्य उस कार्य में सहयोग दे रहे हैं, वे उस कार्य को आरम्भ कर देने पर ही जान सकें और साधारण जनता को तो परिणाम निकल आने पर ही कार्य का पता लगना चाहिए।[23] रघुवंश के सप्तदश सर्ग में ठीक इसी प्रकार मन्त्रगुप्ति के लिए राजा अतिथि की प्रशंसा की गई है।[24] कौटिल्य के द्वारा मंत्रगोपनहेतु अनेक उपाय अथवा साधन बताए गए हैं। जिनमें से एक अपने इंगित अथवा मन्त्र के प्रभाव से शरीर में उत्पन्न होने वाले विकारों को छिपाए रखना है।[25] प्रथम सर्ग में राजा दिलीप के द्वारा इसी निर्देशानुसार अपने इंगित (भावभंगिमा) के गुप्त रखने का वर्णन किया गया है।[26]

राज्य में होने वाली गतिविधियों एवं शासनव्यवस्था के प्रति प्रजा के संतोष एवं असंतोष के विषय में जानकारी के लिए कौटिल्य राजा द्वारा गुप्तचरों की नियुक्ति आवश्यक मानते हैं। रघुवंश में भी राम के राज्य में गुप्तचरों की व्यवस्था का संकेत प्राप्त होता है। सीता के विषय में जनापवाद की सूचना राम गुप्तचर द्वारा ही प्राप्त करते हैं।[27] कवि कालिदास गुप्तचर के अर्थ में "दूत" शब्द का प्रयोग करते हुए राजा अतिथि की गुप्तचर व्यवस्था की प्रशंसा करते हुए कहा है - "परे

स्वेषु च क्षिप्तैरविज्ञातपरस्परैः। सो पसर्पैर्जजागार यथाकालं स्वपन्नपि।।'' (17.51).

करग्रहण का आदर्श उपस्थित करते हुए कौटिल्य करग्रहण का अधिकारी उसी राजा को मानते हैं, जो बलि को प्रजा के कल्याण के कार्य में व्यय करता है।[28] इस आदर्श का भी आदर्श रूप कवि ने अपने नायक दिलीप के चरित्र में उतारते हुए कहा है–

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत्।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः।। (1.18)

कौटिल्य का स्पष्ट मत है कि प्रजा की रक्षा के लिए ही राजा उससे षष्ठांश ग्रहण का अधिकारी है।[29] कालिदास के नायक भी प्रजा की बाह्य और आंतरिक विपत्तियों से रक्षा कर इस भाग को ग्रहण करते हुए वर्णित हैं।[30] कौटिल्य द्वारा इस रक्षा के उपलक्ष्य में मुनियों द्वारा भी अपने द्वारा चुने गए अन्न का छठा अंश देने की व्यवस्था की गयी है।[31] यह व्यवस्था कवि को भी स्वीकार्य है। इसका संकेत पञ्चम सर्ग में रघु द्वारा कौत्स से कुशल प्रश्न के अंतर्गत प्राप्त होता है।[32]

कौटिल्य से पूर्व दण्डव्यवस्था अधिक कठोर एवं निर्मम थी, किन्तु कौटिल्य ने अपने पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों द्वारा प्रतिपादित कठोर दण्डनीति का विरोध किया है। उनका स्पष्ट मत है कि ''वह राजा जिसका नियंत्रण एवं दण्ड बहुत कठोर है, उससे उसकी प्रजा घृणा करती है।'' किन्तु इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि वे मृदु दण्ड के पक्षपाती है। क्योंकि वे ये भी स्वीकार करते हैं कि ''जो राजा मृदु दण्ड देता है, उसे लोग अवमानना की दृष्टि से देखते हैं।[33] उनके अनुसार वस्तुतः वही राजा आदर का पात्र होता है जो अपराधियों को उनके अपराध के अनुसार दण्ड देता है।[34] इसी सिद्धान्त का अनुसरण करते हुए कालिदास ने रघुवंश के चतुर्थ सर्ग में रघु की दण्डनीति के विषय में कहा है–

स हि सर्वस्य लोकस्य युक्तदण्डतया मनः।
आददे नातिशीतोष्णो नभस्वानिवदक्षिणः।। (4.8)

इसी प्रकार न्यायव्यवस्था का वर्णन करते हुए कालिदास ने रघुवंश के सप्तदश सर्ग में ''स धर्मस्थसखः ....।'' (17.39) कहते हुए राजा अतिथि के द्वारा न्यायाधीशों के साथ विचारविमर्श कर विवाद का निर्णय करने का उल्लेख कौटिल्य के अनुरूप ही किया है। यहां न्यायाधीश के लिए 'धर्मस्थसखः' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है जो कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र में भी ठीक इसी अर्थ में प्राप्त होता है[35] और कवि पर अर्थशास्त्र के प्रभाव की ओर संकेत करता है।

रघु आदि रघुवंशी नृपों के दिग्विजय के प्रसंग में आक्रमण का अभियान प्रारम्भ करने से लेकर विजयोपरान्त पराजित राजाओं के प्रति विजयी नृपों के व्यवहार के वर्णन में सर्वत्र कवि कौटिल्य के निर्देशों का अनुकरण करते हुए प्रतीत होते हैं। युद्ध हेतु प्रस्थान के लिए उपयुक्त काल और परिस्थिति का निर्णय, युद्ध से पूर्व राजा का विशेष आचार तथा आक्रमण के लिए प्रस्थान से पूर्व अपनी

राजधानी और दुर्गों आदि की रक्षा के प्रबन्ध का वर्णन कौटिल्य के अनुसार ही है।[36] कौटिल्य का कथन है कि विजयी राजा को विजित राष्ट्र की भूमि का लोभ नहीं करना चाहिए। और न विजित राजा की पत्नियों, पुत्रों, धनसम्पत्ति पर अधिकार करना चाहिए, प्रत्युत उसे चाहिए कि वह विजित राजा के संबंधियों को उनके पूर्व स्थान पर नियुक्त कर दे, भूतपूर्वराजा के पुत्र को राजगद्दी पर बैठा देना चाहिए (7.16)। कौटिल्य की उपर्युक्त नीति के अनुसार ही कवि ने रघु की दिग्विजय के अन्तर्गत अधीनता स्वीकार कर लेने वाले पराजित राजाओं को रघु द्वारा पुनः उनके सिंहासन पर आसीन कर देने का उल्लेख किया है।[37] कलिंग नरेश को भी पहले बन्दी बनाए जाने और बाद में उसके द्वारा अधीनता स्वीकार कर लेने पर पुनः उसे ही राज्य लौटा देना कौटिल्य के सिद्धान्तानुसार ही है।[38]

कौटिल्य ने सातवें अधिकरण में पराजित और निर्बल राजाओं को स्पष्ट निर्देश दिया है कि यदि संधि होना संभव हो तो सन्धि करने योग्य राजा के पास दूत भेजा जाए। धन और मान से सत्कार कर दूत राजा से कहे कि यह राजा के निमित्त भेंट है और यह देवी और कुमारों द्वारा देवी और कुमारों को उपहार दी जा रही है। यह सारा राज्य और मैं तुम्हारे अधीन हूं। जब दूत के इस कथन से विजेता का आश्रय मिल जाए तो उस विजेता राजा के प्रति सेवक की भांति व्यवहार करे, (अर्थ,. 7.15.15)।

रघु के विजयी होने पर पराजित बंग राजाओं द्वारा बहुत सा धन-धान्यादि देकर रघु को संतुष्ट करने का प्रयास (4.37); उत्कलराजाओं द्वारा पराजय स्वीकार कर आगे मार्ग बनाने का कार्य (4.38); दक्षिण के पाण्ड्य नृपों द्वारा ताम्रपर्णी समेत मुक्ताभण्डार का समर्पण (4.59) और कामरूप राजाओं द्वारा रघु के चरण छाया की देवता की भांति अर्चना करते हुए दास की भांति व्यवहार किया जाना (5. 84), कौटिल्य की उपर्युक्त नीति के अनुसरण को द्योतित करता है।

कौटिल्य ने दूतयुद्ध और धर्मयुद्ध का उल्लेख करते हुए कहा है कि प्राचीन राजशास्त्रियों द्वारा निर्धारित नियमों के अनुसार किया जाने वाला युद्ध–धर्मयुद्ध है, और छलप्रयोगों तथा कूटनीति का आश्रय लेकर किया जाने वाला युद्ध–कूटयुद्ध है। कौटिल्य द्वारा इनके यथावसर प्रयोग का निर्देश दिया गया है।[39] कवि कालिदास ने भी सप्तदश सर्ग में राजा अतिथि द्वारा इन नीतियों के अवसरानुरूप प्रयोग का वर्णन किया है।[40] यद्यपि अन्य स्थलों पर वे रघुवंशी राजाओं द्वारा धर्म नीति का ही आश्रय लेने की प्रशंसा करते हुए आदर्श उपस्थित करते हैं।[41] तथापि इतना अवश्य है कि कौटिल्य के समान ही वे भी इन कूट प्रयोगों का ज्ञान राजाओं के लिए आवश्यक मानते हैं। यही कारण है कि रघुवंशियों के कूटयुद्ध विषयक सैद्धान्तिक ज्ञान का उल्लेख उन्होंने अवश्य किया है।[42]

कवि कालिदास ने रघुवंश में रघु की षट्विध सेना का उल्लेख किया है। सेना के प्रकारों की गणना करते हुए कौटिल्य ने भी इन्हें षट्विध–मौल, भृत्य,

श्रेणी, मित्र, अमित्र और आटविक कहा है। कौटिल्य के समान ही कवि ने राजा की तीन शक्तियों – प्रभुशक्ति, मन्त्रशक्ति और उत्साहशक्ति का उल्लेख किया है। "प्रभुशक्ति" से राजा राज्य का विस्तार एवं शासन करता है। तदनुसार अजवर्णन में "अनयत्प्रभुशक्तिसम्पदा स शमेको नृपतीनन्तरान्" (8.19)। 'मंत्रशक्ति' से राजा मंत्रणापूर्वक शासनतन्त्र को व्यवस्थित रखता है यथा- "मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सहमन्त्रिभिः। स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते। (17.50) तथा उत्साह-शक्ति से राजा शासन कार्य में जागरूकता तथा अन्तस्फूर्ति पूर्ण शक्ति का उपयोग करता है। यह भी सभी प्रमुख रघुवंशी नृपतियों की विशेषता है। कौटिल्य इन तीनों शक्तियों से युक्त राजा को ही श्रेष्ठ मानते हैं – ताभिरभ्युच्चितो ज्यायान्भवति, अपचितो हीनः" अधि. 8, अ. 2, प्र. 97.।

कालिदास भी इसका समर्थन करते हुए स्वीकार करते हैं कि इन तीनों शक्तियों से ही राजा अपने लक्ष्य अर्थात् अचल और अक्षय अर्थ की प्राप्ति कर सकता है।[43] कौटिल्य ने इन शक्तियों में मंत्रशक्ति को प्रथम, उत्साह शक्ति को द्वितीय और प्रभुशक्ति को तृतीय स्थान दिया है।[44] किन्तु कालिदास इनके समन्वय में विश्वास रखते हैं। राजा अतिथि के वर्णन में वे कहते हैं कि केवल नीति अर्थात् मन्त्रशक्ति कायरता है और केवल शौर्य अर्थात् प्रभुशक्ति पशुता है, अतः अतिथि ने इन दोनों को मिलाकर शत्रु को विजित किया।[45] यहां "नीति" मन्त्रशक्ति का ही पर्याय है, राजनीति का नहीं। इसी प्रसंग में कवि ने राजनीति का पृथक् उल्लेख किया है और उसे चतुर्विधा कहकर साम, दाम, दण्ड, भेद - इन चार अंगों से युक्त बताया है जो कौटिल्य के अनुरूप है।[46]

इसी प्रसंग में कवि कालिदास ने अर्थशास्त्र में निर्दिष्ट कुछ पारिभाषिक शब्दों का प्रयोग भी किया है। यथा-

स गुणानां बलानां च षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः।
बभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु।। (17.67)

यहाँ प्रयुक्त "षड्गुण" शब्द पारिभाषिक है। कौटिल्य के अनुसार ये षड्गुण हैं – सन्धि, विग्रह, आसन, यान, संश्रय तथा द्वैधीभाव।[47] कौटिल्य ने महत्वाकांक्षी राजा को इन षड्गुणों का उपयोग कर अपना तथा राज्य का कल्याण करने का निर्देश दिया है। अज के वैशिष्ट्य के वर्णन में भी कवि ने उन्हें पणबन्धादि षड्गुणों का ज्ञाता कहा है।[48]

यहां पणबन्ध शब्द का प्रयोग भी कवि पर अर्थशास्त्र के प्रभाव को व्यक्त करता है - "पणबन्धः सन्धिः" (अर्थ. 7.1)। इसी प्रकार नवम सर्ग के "उपयतोऽपि च मण्डलनाभिमताम् ....." (9.15) आदि श्लोकों में प्रयुक्त 'मण्डल' शब्द भी पारिभाषिक है। कौटिल्य ने राज्यों को चार श्रेणियों में विभाजित किया है, जिनको उन्होंने शत्रु, मित्र, मध्यम और उदासीन राज्यों के नाम से सम्बोधित किया है। इन राज्यों में से प्रत्येक राज्य, राज्य का मित्र राज्य, मध्यम और उदासीन राजा सम्मिलित माने गए है।[49]

"नृपाइवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते"[50] "मध्यम" का प्रयोग मध्यम राजा के अर्थ में हुआ है। मध्यम राजा की परिभाषा करते हुए कौटिल्य ने बताया है कि विजयाभिलाषी राजा और शत्रुराजा दोनों के राज्यों की सीमा पर स्थित वह शक्तिशाली राजा जो उन दोनों को एक साथ अथवा पृथक्-पृथक् सहायता देने एवं उनका निग्रह करने में समर्थ हो, मध्यम राजा कहलाता है।[51] सत्रहवें सर्ग में "रात्रिंदिवविभागेषु यदाविष्टमहीक्षिताम्। तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन सविकल्पपराङ्मुखः" (17.49) में प्रयुक्त "नियोग" और विकल्प शब्द भी पारिभाषिक ही है। इन्हें स्पष्ट करते हुए कौटिल्य ने कहा है - "एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः। तस्माद्धर्ममर्थं चास्योपदिशेन्नाधर्ममनर्थं चेति। अनेन वानेन चेति विकल्पः।" – (अर्थशास्त्र, अधि. 15, अ. 1, प्र. 180.) इन पारिभाषिक शब्दों का ठीक उसी अर्थ में प्रसङ्गानुकूल प्रयोग कवि द्वारा अर्थशास्त्र के गंभीर अध्ययन के परिणाम ही कहे जा सकते हैं। एक विशेष उल्लेखनीय बात यह है कि कवि कालिदास ने राज्य के सप्त अंगों के लिए कौटिल्य के ही अनुकरण पर "प्रकृति" शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।[52] कौटिल्य के पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों ने इन राज्यांगों के लिए "प्रकृति" शब्द का प्रयोग न करके "अंग" का ही प्रयोग किया है। राज्य के इन तत्वों के लिए "प्रकृति" शब्द का सर्वप्रथम प्रयोग करने का श्रेय कौटिल्य को ही है। इसके प्रयोग द्वारा कवि कालिदास कौटिल्य से ने केवल अपनी परवर्तिता सिद्ध करते हैं प्रत्युत अपने "अर्थशास्त्र" के गंभीर अध्ययन और गहन प्रभाव को भी प्रमाणित करते हैं।

कहीं-कहीं तो कालिदास और कौटिल्य की उक्तियों में आश्चर्यजनक साम्य दृष्टिगत होता है।[53] अर्थशास्त्र में प्रजा की संतुष्टि के लिए राजा के समक्ष जो आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया गया है - "स्वधर्मकर्मानुग्रहपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिः धर्म प्रकृतिप्रियहितान्यनुवर्तेत्" अर्थात् राजा अपने प्रजापालन आदि धर्म, यज्ञानुष्ठानादि कर्म, प्रजा की सहायता आदि अनुग्रह, अधिक कर का परित्याग, दान और सत्कार आदि कर्तव्यों का पालन कर प्रिय और हितकारी नरों को संतुष्ट बनाए (13.5. 176)। रघुवंश के सभी आदर्श-नृप इन आदर्शों का पालन करते हुए सर्वदा प्रजाहित में संलग्न दृष्टिगत होते हैं। विशेषतः सप्तदश सर्ग में तो कौटिल्य के ही लगभग सभी सिद्धान्तों और व्यवस्थाओं को कालिदास ने उसी रूप में चित्रित किया है।

कालिदास सभी स्थलों पर कौटिल्य प्रणीत अर्थशास्त्र के सिद्धान्तों से प्रभावित और अधिकांशतः सहमत भी प्रतीत होते हैं। जहां कहीं अन्तर अथवा किंचित् भिन्नता दृष्टिगोचर होती भी है तो वह इन ग्रन्थ-प्रणेताओं के दृष्टिकोणों की भिन्नता के कारण। अर्थशास्त्र-प्रणयन और सिद्धान्तों, विधानों और नीतियों के प्रतिपादन में कौटिल्य का दृष्टिकोण नितान्त व्यावहारिक और यथार्थवादी है, जबकि रघुवंश की रचना के पीछे कवि का दृष्टिकोण सर्वथा आदर्शवादी रहा है। यही कारण है कि अवसर और प्रसंग की अनुरूपता के अनुसार कहीं-कहीं तो कवि ने कौटिल्य की नीतियों और सिद्धांतों को लगभग उसी रूप में स्वीकार करते हुए वर्णित किया है और कहीं-कहीं उन्हें आदर्श से रंगकर अपने काव्य नायकों के चरित्र में गुम्फित किया है।

सन्दर्भ-सूची

1. राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः। - अर्थशास्त्र, अधिकरण 8. अ. 2. प्र. 128.
2. दृष्टव्य - रघुवंश 1.5-8.
3. दृष्टव्य - अर्थशास्त्र, अधिकरण 6, अ. 1, प्र. 96 तथा रघुवंश, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.20, 1.30, 1.25, 1.55, 1.92.
4. दृष्टव्य - रघुवंश में प्रयुक्त विशेषण - वदतां वरः, 1.59; भुजोच्छिन्नरिपुः, 1.23; ''गोप्ता'' 1.24; शरण्यः, मृगेन्द्रगामी, प्रसभोद्धृतारिः 2.30; सहिष्णुः - 1.72; स्थिरधीर 8.22; समाधिजितेन्द्रियः 9.1 आदि।
5. अर्थशास्त्र, अधिकरण 1, अध्याय 7, प्रकरण 3.
6. कामक्रोधलोभमानमदहर्षत्यागात् कार्यः। अर्थशास्त्र, अधिकरण 1, अंक 6, प्रकरण 3.
7. नाडिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत। द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत्। ..... षष्ठे स्वैरविहारं मन्त्रं वा सेवेत।। अर्थशास्त्र, अधिकरण 1, अंक 19, प्रकरण 16.
8. तस्मात्स्वधर्मभूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत्। - अर्थशास्त्र, 1.3.1.
9. तथा चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दण्डेन पालितः।
स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु। - अर्थ., 1.4.1.
10. दृष्टव्य - अर्थशास्त्र, 4.3.1.129.
11. रघुवंश - 8.17.
12. दृष्टव्य - अर्थशास्त्र, 1.3.129 तथा रघुवंश 9.49.
13. चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः। - अर्थशास्त्र, 1.3.1.
14. रघुवंश - 1.30.
15. तुलनीय - अर्थशास्त्र, 1.5.129.
16. अर्थशास्त्र, 14.16-17.
17. रघुवंश - 1.34.
18. रघुवंश - 19.52.
19. अर्थशास्त्र - 5.6.94.
20. अर्थशास्त्र - 1.10.5.
21. रघुवंश - 1.63-64.
22. अर्थशास्त्र - 1.10.5.
23. अर्थशास्त्र - 1.15.11.
24. रघुवंश - 17.50.
25. अर्थशास्त्र - 1.15.11.
26. रघुवंश - 1.20.
27. रघुवंश - 14.12.
28. तेन (करेण) भृता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवहास्तेषां किल्वषमदण्डकरा हरन्ति अयोगक्षेमवहाश्च प्रजानाम्। अर्थशास्त्र, 1.13.9.
29. अर्थशास्त्र - 1.13.9.
30. रघुवंश - 17.65.
31. तस्मादुञ्छषड्भागमारण्यका अपि निर्वपन्ति तस्यैद्भागधेयोऽस्मान्गोपायतीति। - अर्थशास्त्र, 1.13.9.
32. रघुवंश - 15.8.
33. तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः। मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते। अर्थ., 1.4.1.

34. यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः। सुविज्ञातप्रणीतो हि दण्डः प्रजा धर्मार्थकामैर्योजयति। अर्थ., 1.4.1.
35. तृतीय अधिकरण, प्रथम अध्याय, 57 प्रकरण।
36. दृष्टव्य - रघुवंश 17.59 तथा अर्थशास्त्र - नवम अधिकरण, प्रथम अध्याय, प्रकरण 135. विशेष आचार हेतु श्वोयुद्धमिति कृतोपवासं शस्त्रगहनं चाधिशयीत (अधि. 10.3.150) के अनुसार कुबेर पर चढाई से पूर्व रघु का रथ में अस्त्रों के समीप शयनवर्णित है तथा आक्रमण से पूर्व व्यवस्था हेतु अर्थशास्त्र, 9.10.137. रघुवंश, 4.26.
37. रघुवंश - 4.37.
38. रघुवंश - 4.43.
39. अर्थशास्त्र - 10.3.150.
40. रघुवंश - 14.47.
41. रघुवंश - 4.43.
42. रघुवंश - 1.10, 17.59. "कूटयुद्धविधिज्ञेऽपि। ....
43. रघुवंश - 1.19.
44. अर्थशास्त्र 9.1.135.
45. रघु., 14.47.
46. अर्थ., 9.3.140 तथा रघुवंश 17.68.
47. अर्थशास्त्र, 7.1.98.
48. रघुवंश - 8.12.
49. अर्थशास्त्र - 6.2.97.
50. रघुवंश - 13.7.
51. अर्थशास्त्र - 6.2.97.
52. रघुवंश - 8.10 "अथ वीक्ष्य रघुः प्रतिष्ठितं प्रकृतिषु ....।
53. तुलनीय- अर्थशास्त्र - क्रिया हि द्रव्यं विनयति नाद्रव्यम्। 1.5.2.
रघुवंश - क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति । 1.29.
अर्थशास्त्र - बलीयसाभियुक्तो दुर्बलः सर्वत्रानुप्रणतो बेतसधर्मातिष्ठेत्। 12.1.162.
रघुवंश - प्राणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् । 4.54.
अर्थशास्त्र - मृगयायान्तु व्यायामः, श्लेषपित्तस्वेदनाशः, चले स्थिरे च कार्ये लक्षपरिचयः, क्रोधभवस्थानेङ्गितेषु च मृगाणाचित्तज्ञानं, नित्ययानश्च।
अर्थशास्त्र - 1.2.18.
रघुवंश - परिचयं चललक्ष्यनिपातने भयरुषोश्च तदिङ्गितबोधनम्।
श्रमजयात्प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ तनुमतोनुगतः सचिवैर्ययौ।। 9.49
अर्थशास्त्र - मातापि दुष्टा त्याज्या स्वहस्तोपि विषदिग्धश्छेद्यः।
परोपि च हितो बन्धुः कक्षादप्यौषधं गृह्यते।
अर्थशास्त्र, अधि. 14, सू. 245-49.
रघुवंश - द्वेष्योऽपि संमतः शिष्टस्तस्यार्तस्य यथौषधम्।
त्याज्यो दुष्टः प्रियोऽप्यासीदङ्गुलीवोरगक्षता।। 1.28.

Contributors

1. (Late) Prof. Asoke Chatterji Shastri, formerly professor of Sanskrit, Calcutta University and Director, Institute for Vedic and Purāṇic Studies, Naimiṣāraṇya.
2. Prof. D.D. Sharma, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Punjab University, Chandigarh, and Visiting Professor, Sanskrit Department, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.
3. Dr. N.P. Unni, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Kerala University Trivandrum.
4. Dr. (Mrs.) S.S. Dange, Professor, Sanskrit Department, Bombay University, Bombay.
5. Dr. S.S. Dange, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Bombay University, Bombay.
6. Dr. K.P. Jog, formerly Associate Editor, Sanskrit Dictionary Project, Deccan College, Pune and Director P.V. Kane Research Institute, Asiatic Society, Bombay.
7. Dr. Uma Pandey, formerly Reader, Department of Comparative Language and Culture, Bhopal University, Bhopal.
8. Dr. H.C. Sainy, Professor and Head, Department of Bussiness Management and Dean, Faculty of Management Studies, Dr. Harisingh Gour University, Sagar.
9. Dr. S.P. Narang, Professor & Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Delhi University, Delhi.
10. Dr. B.B. Chaube, Professor, Vishveshvarand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Punjab).
11. Dr. Hari Har Nath Tripathi, formerly Professor, Department of Political Science. B.H.U. Varanasi.

12. Dr. Chandrakant Shukla. Sanskrit Department, Ranchi University. Ranchi.
13. Shri Ved Prakash Khanna, DGP. M.P. Bhopal.
14. Dr. Sharmila Chatterji. Sanskrit Teacher, Gyanodaya Vidyalaya, Narsinghgarh Dt. Damoh (M.P.).
15. Dr. Patanjali Kumar Bhatia, Sanskrit Department, Delhi University, Delhi.
16. Dr. Abha Pandey, Sanskrit Teacher, Central School, Jhansi.
17. Dr. Rasesh Jamindar, Deptt. of Archaeology, Gujrat University, Ahmedabad.
18. Dr. Radha Vallabh Tripathi, Professor & Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Dr. H.S. Gaur University, Sagar.

the Author

Dr. Radha Vallabh Tripathi, Professor & Head, Sanskrit Deptt. Dr. Harisingh Gour University, Sagar. He specialises in *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Sāhityaśāstra*. He has published 53 books and 70 research papers. He also writes short stories, poems and plays both in Sanskrit and Hindi. He has received 16 awards/ honours, most of them at the National level. He was confered M.M.P.V. Kane Gold Medal by Asiatic Society of Bombay for best research work of 1988-90 and was honoured by the All India Oriental Conference, Haridwar session for best research work in classical Sanskrit during 1987-88. He has won the Sahitya Akademi Award for his Sanskrit poetry.

His publications include *Kāvya-śastra aur Kāvya* (1984), *Studies in Interrelation between literature and literary criticism in Sanskrit*, *Kālidāsa kī Samīkṣā Paramparā* (1987), *Lectures on Nāṭyaśāstra* (1991), *Prekṣaṇa Saptakam* (1997) and *Nāṭyaśāstraviśvakośa* (4 volumes). He has been editing *Dūrvā* (literary Qly. of M.P. Sanskrit Akademi), *Sāgarikā* (Research Journal in Sanskrit), *Nāṭyam* (Hindi Qly.) and *Madhyabhāratī* (Journal of Dr. Hari Singh Gour University, Humanities Sec.).

ISBN : 81-85268-64-9



PRATIBHA PRAKASHAN
(ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS & BOOK SELLERS)
29/5, SHAKTI NAGAR, DELHI-110 007
PHONE : 7451485

LEKH RAJ